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ABSTRACT

A study of two neighboring rural school districts in New York State was undertaken to determine if differences in educational quality existed between the two communities--Applegate and Bakerville--and to identify factors affecting educational quality. Comparison of demographic and socioeconomic characteristics included racial and ethnic distribution, industrial bases, community life, leisure activities, religious life, attitudes about school, educational training, and community priorities. Comparison of school systems included district histories, experiences with reorganization, school board composition, administration, teachers, unions, curriculum offerings, student achievement, and student aspirations. The two communities were remarkably alike for all variables considered except that important differences existed in the academic offerings and educational service delivery of their school systems. While Applegate offered the type of limited educational program often associated with rural schools, Bakerville exhibited an academic vitality suggesting that the problems faced by rural schools are surmountable. The role played by the Bakerville superintendent appeared critical in that district's success and paralleled the role of principal for effective inner-city schools as described by Rosenholtz (1985). The processes underlying effective schools, as enumerated by Rosenholtz, existed in the Bakerville School District and included improved student performance as a clear objective and involvement of the faculty in realizing that objective. (JHZ)

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Department of Education
New York State College of Agriculture & Life Sciences at
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Administrative Leadership and Effective Small-Rural Schools: A Comparative Case Study

by
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Organizational Alternatives for Small-Rural Schools In New York State*

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Introduction

Recent studies examining special and vocational education in rural school districts suggest that these districts are faced with a number of difficult problems in attempting to provide adequate service delivery. Among the most frequently reported are:

1) Geographic or demographic conditions which result in districts too small to provide a full range of educational services. Long distances and poor roads often make it neither feasible nor possible to join with adjacent districts to cooperatively provide services.

2) The recruitment and retention of teachers. Limited economic, cultural and social opportunities often make rural areas less attractive to qualified personnel.

3) Community attitudes about the "intrusion" of outside individuals and agencies, such as a State Education Department.

4) Fiscal constraints arising from low tax bases.

Although these studies focus on to service delivery in vocational and special eduaction, the problems reported are indicative of conditions faced by rural schools in general. (Studies by Tunick, Platt and Bowen,1980, Helge,1981, McCarthy and Sage,1982, Rossmiller,1982, Hilton and Hagen,1983, and the New York State Education Department,1983 on rural special education, Mertens,1981, and Long,1982 on rural vocational education).

The academic course offerings available in rural school districts are often limited when compared to those in urban and suburban districts. Indeed, it is concern over perceived inadequacies in educational offerings which fuel efforts to reorganize rural districts.

The present case study examines two neighboring rural school districts in in New York State. In the first section of the study the communities which these districts encompass are examined. Demographic and socio-economic characteristics, racial and ethnic distributions, industrial bases, community life, leisure activities, religious life, attitudes about school, educational training and community priorities are explored. The second section is an examination of the districts' school systems including district histories, experiences with reorganization, school board composition, administration, teachers, unions, curriculum offerings, student achievement, student aspirations, etc.

This study will show that although these two communities are remarkably alike, important differences exist in the academic offerings and educational service delivery of their school sytems. While one district, Applegate, offers the type of limited educational program often associated with rural schools, the other, Bakerville, exhibits an academic vitality which suggests that the problems faced by rural schools are not insurmountable.

The study concludes with a discussion based upon Rosenholtz' (1985) model of effective schools. Although Rosenholtz' work focused on inner-city schools, the central issue of the pivotal role played by principals in creating effective schools is just as relevant in rural districts.

Demographic Characteristics of the Communities

The 1980 Census revealed that the populations of these two communities, Applegate (pop.= 1331) and Bakerville (pop.= 1758), were relatively stable during the latter part of the 1970's. While three out of five individuals lived in the same house between 1975-80 (61% in Applegate, 68% in Bakerville) and 85% lived in the same county (Charleston County), our interviews suggest that there also exists a migratory, sub-culture of welfare families who move as social service requirements change among neighboring counties in the region.

> A lot of poor, low income transients come in and stay awhile, then move again. They come because real estate is low in the area. A lot of them are on welfare when they come in.

Indeed, Applegate and Bakerville are both relatively poor communities when compared to others in New York State. Based on a composite measure of 1982-83 income and property wealth, these districts rank in the State's lowest quartile. Based on 1980 census, the most commonly reported incomes were bracketed between $10000-19999, with $15437 being the median annual income in Applegate (462 households reporting) and $13664 in Bakerville (558 households reporting). 11-20% of Bakerville's 393 students and 21-30% of Applegate's 249 students are members of families whose primary means of support is public welfare (1984-85 BEDS data).

These figures represent the rather dismal fiscal reality of these communities, it is therefore not surprising that a recurring theme in our interviews was a concern for keeping down school costs.

> The average income is dropping and people are feeling the pinch. I know they resent their school taxes, farmers especially think they're too high.
>
> We have no tax base, it's very simple. Anybody who doesn't have children in school doesn't want to spend a penny. They scream bloody murder if the taxes go up.
>
> There's nothing to tax in town, it's blood out of a stone.

Racial/Ethnic Distributions

In the racial/ethnic distribution summaries of their respective 1985 Comprehensive Assessment Reports (CAR), the two districts reported identical 99.2% white pupil enrollment. Out of a total student enrollment of 256 in 1984, Applegate had a non-white population of 2 black students, both of whom were in the elementary school. Therefore, Applegate's junior and senior high school programs are 100% white, as they have been for at least the past three years. Bakerville had 3 non-white students (2 Hispanic and 1 American Indian, Alaskan, Asian or Pacific Islander) out of an enrollment of 390. There are two more non-white students than in the previous two years when the school district's enrollment was 99.7% white.

The Industrial Base

Although both communities consider themselves primarily agricultural, only 12% of Applegate's residents and 16% of Bakerville's live on farms.

> Years ago, 1930 and up towards the 40's and 50's there were farms all over these hills, small of course. Probably after the Second World War, that's when it changed. They would just get bigger and bigger. Like anything else you just get too big and to borrow money was too easy. The bankers were glad to lend it out and anyone got into a bind they couldn't move.
>
> An awful lot of them are folded. An awful lot of them. More and more all the time. They try to expand beyond all their capabilities. Get so far in debt and can't make the payments and eventually they foreclose on them. More and more farms everyday.
>
> There used to be a lot of work here, small shops and what have you, but not no more. And each town had their own creameries where the farmers brought their milk and that gave employment to quite a few people.

The 1980 Census revealed that farming is no longer the primary occupation of working adults in either community. Two-thirds of working adults are reported to be salaried employees in the private sector, while government employment accounts for an additional 15%-17% of the work force. A more detailed breakdown of the census data reveals that the four major areas of employment for Applegate's 560 and Bakerville's 770 working adults were (by percentage employed):

	Applegate	Bakerville
Manufacturing:	39%	29%
Agriculture/forestry/fisheries/mining:	11%	15%
Educational services:	7%	11%
Retail trade:	16%	10%

A further breakdown by occupation reveals:

Machine operators, assemblers, and inspectors:	20%	19%
Farming, forestry and fishing occupations:	10%	15%
Precision production, craft, and repair occupations:	13%	14%
Administrative support occupations, including clerical:	11%	14%
Service occupations (Except protective or household):	11%	11%

Other than farming, existing community industries include: a leather goods manufacturing firm, two outdoor recreational facilities, a mink farm, a miniature furniture manufacturing industry, a farm implement dealership, a logging operation, and a variety of cottage industries. Local industries provide employment for 30% of the working population with the remainder traveling to nearby cities for employment.

These urban centers are relatively close to Applegate and Bakerville and therefore roughly 80% of each district's work force have to travel only 30 minutes or less to work. In fact, Applegate and Bakerville are viewed by many as bedroom communities for these nearby, more urban centers.

Life in the Communities

Because their communities are so small, the majority of Applegate and Bakerville residents work, shop and seek entertainment in larger neighboring communities. The Elks Club, Masonic Temple, Moose Lodge, V.F.W. Post, Council on Alcoholism, Police and Sheriff's departments, and nearest hospitals are all located in one or another of these larger neighboring communities. The local newspapers are published elsewhere, and of the banks which serve the county, none has a branch office in either town. Yet, these two communities have a sense of identity and pride and both view themselves as being quite distinct from their larger neighbors.

Applegate and Bakerville each have their own volunteer fire departments, emergency squads, school booster clubs and ladies auxiliaries. In addition, Bakerville has a Free Library and Historical Museum, an American Legion Post, and a Fortnightly Women's Club. This latter organization, a member of the National Women's Club since 1902, sponsors Project S.H.A.R.E., a community service funded through a grant from the Sears-Roebuck Foundation.

> It's a clearinghouse for any services people need. If they need marriage counselling, or a receipe, or whatever, they have a catalog of services available in the library. They also have a coupon exchange two days a week. People can come in with any kind of question and if they can't solve it, they can say who to go to who can solve it. They also have a clothing give-away two or three times a year. They collect reuseable clothing and set it out in the American Legion and people come when winter is coming and they need mittens for their kids. They go to the nursing homes

> and homes of elderly and sickly people every spring and fall. The people in nursing homes knit mittens and things for them to give people in need.

While some people in these communities complained that everyone knows everyone else's business, most seemed to view the closeness which exists among people as their communities' strength.

Leisure Activities

With the exception of taverns, there exists no commercial entertainment in either district, e.g., movie theaters, bowling alleys, etc. Residents must again travel to neighboring communities in order to pursue these activities. Bakerville's Superintendent suggests that teenagers too young to drive or without access to a car have little to do but "lollygag" around the streets all night. One result of this is a concern about alcohol abuse among students. This study will not examine the extent to which alcoholism is a problem in the rural community, but it does recognize the fact that the problem exists. Members of Bakerville's school board recently discussed scheduling a special program, with invited speakers, to address student drinking problems.

In the absence of commercial entertainment, sports, whether participatory or spectator, play an important role as community leisure activities. For example, in Bakerville, football games draw crowds of 600 fans and basketball games are played before a packed gymnasium, even during a winless season. The school's baseball team has a cadre of ardent supporters among the district's senior citizens who turn out for every home game. Applegate's residents are no less enthusiastic about their school's teams, particularly their girls basketball team which advanced to the State Finals this year. Considering that the district has only 30 girls eligible to compete on the team, but that they nevertheless knocked off teams from much larger districts is a source of considerable community pride.

In addition, both districts take pride in their bands and cheerleading squads. These youngsters have represented themselves well in regional competition and the trophy cases in the two districts are filled with honors received by the athletic teams and the bands. As Bakerville's Superintendent, who is also the Athletic Director, notes,

> We've had success here in balancing both musical activities and sports activities and I would say that for the last two or three years our band members have been out-doing the sports as far as identifying the school to other people.

Unfortunately, enthusiasm about athletics is often not enough to maintain a team in a small, rural district. Applegate had to drop its nine-man football team this season because of insufficient numbers of players. Plans are presently being developed to allow Applegate football players to compete as part of Bakerville's team next season. In fact, a squad composed of players from the two districts may allow them to field a more traditional eleven-man team.

Although Applegate residents took the loss of their team as a blow to community pride, those who care about it take solace in the fact that there exists an alternative to having no football team at all. Indeed, some parents expressed relief that youngsters would no longer be coerced into going out for a team for which they were not physically prepared. Applegate's limited student body meant that anyone who went out for football was on the team. And in some years, before the team was dissolved, if there were not a sufficient number of athletes to field a team, pressure would be brought to bear on those youngsters who had not tried out.

Having students from Applegate play on Bakerville's football team will not be the first instance of athletic sharing among districts in the county. Presently, Bakerville sends five wrestlers to nearby Cherryton to compete as part of their team. The mother of one of Bakerville's wrestlers is a member of the school board and she sums up the reality faced by the district's athletic program:

> The most practical way to look at it is that my son wouldn't be able to wrestle if he didn't wrestle with another team because we can't support it here. If it comes to the survival of an athletic program, people won't complain about competing for another school.

Religious Life

Applegate and Bakerville seem fairly typical in terms of American religious life. Conversations with district residents elicit references to church socials and Sunday school events, but generally one does not get the sense that religion is the dominant force in community life.

While Baptist and Methodist churches are the most numerous, Episcopalian, Christ Church, Congregational, Presbyterian, Lutheran and Catholic churches can also be found in the two districts and neighboring communities. Perhaps the most significant aspect of religious life in terms of this study is that a local Baptist Church runs a Christian Academy. Although it resides physically within Bakerville's geographic boundaries, the Christian Academy is roughly equidistant from Applegate and Bakerville and draws students from both districts.

As of 1985, enrollment in this K-12 program was 70, but it has been as high as 100 in the past. Yet, even with just 70 students the Christian Academy has an enrollment roughly 28% the size of Applegate's and 18% the size of Bakerville's. Put another way, if the Christian Academy's peak enrollment of 100 were evenly distributed between the districts, it would increase Applegate's enrollment by 20% and Bakerville's by 13%. Needless to say, the Christian Academy casts a large shadow in these small districts.

The Board Chairman of the Christian Academy is a long-time employee (bus driver) in the Bakerville school district.

Although his two eldest daughters graduated with honors from that district, he chose instead to send his youngest daughter to the Christian school. He objects to "the liberalism, the humanistic philosophy that's been prevalent in the public school system." While he feels that Bakerville offers a good academic program, he supports the accelerated programming which the Christian school allows.

> They're on what they call an accelerated Christian program. They have to maintain an 80% average in order to proceed and then they can go as fast as they want. They can graduate in 10 years if they want to push it. And then you've got the slow student that doesn't want to push, it helps to get them motivated. They've had good success in that area too. It's almost individualized because they have monitors. If a student needs help they have a flag system that they use and it depends upon whether they want a supervisor or just a plain monitor to help them, and they can get help. They've got 2 supervisors and maybe 3 monitors to handle the students. The cost is a lot different in what you can educate a student for at that rate.

Parents pay a tuition of $700 per year, and the church school's policy has been to decline any subsidizing from the State, whether for transportation or textbook.

> There's no subsidizing, the parents pay. In fact, the pastor doesn't even push them for transportation. That was offered. They don't even take the private schools book fund, money towards books. They refuse that. No, it's strictly independent.

The local superintendents in Applegate and Bakerville tell a somewhat different story. They contend that the academic program offered by the Christian Academy is inadequate and that they indeed provide transportation for some of the church school's children. Applegate's Superintendent said that he had had a row with church school officials over the fact that their children were arriving five minutes late to class. He claims that in order to mediate the situation, he had to reroute some earlier buses and now gets their students to school almost an hour early.

The superintendents from Applegate and Bakerville contend that the supervising adults at the Christian Academy are not state certified teachers but rather graduates of similar church-run institutions. Both superintendents tell stories of students leaving their school for the Christian Academy and then subsequently returning. They claim that many of these students have lost ground with respect to their peers. Since the church-school is physically within Bakerville, the superintendent of that district is required to certify that their program meets state guidelines. Several years ago he asked the State to investigate the adequacy of the church school's educational program. He says that a team of examiners approved the church's program after a rather short visit. Confirming the story, the District (BOCES) Superintendent recounts the incident this way:

> The State people came down to review the Baptist school and spent 45 minutes to an hour to re-register them and they (the Baptist school) don't have anything. They have this Texas curriculum, you know, this programmed instruction type of curriculum and the kids sit in carrels all day and work. They don't meet the library requirements and they don't meet the phys.ed. requirements, they don't meet anything. But the State came

> in and re-registered them as a high school. So you know, to me, it's hypocritical to bring out all these regulations and then not enforce them.

The underlying, unspoken message from this incident is that the adequacy of the Christian Academy's educational program is too hot politically to pursue.

While there have been no further entanglements between the public and church schools, some bitterness lingers from the investigation. Some say that shortly after it occurred, church members organized to vote down a referendum in Bakerville for a new bus garage. Others interviewed suggested that the garage was just too costly and that no church organized conspiracy was involved.

Community Views of the School

Applegate and Bakerville appear to be fiscally and morally conservative. Interviews with community residents reveal that student discipline is a primary concern. Some feel that behavior codes are not strict enough.

> I think that there could be more discipline in classes, a little more strictness. With the high school I think they need to be disciplined more. I mean if we did some of the things those kids do now, I would just say listen, something's wrong here. They do something, they don't even expect to get punished for it because they know their not gonna and they don't have any respect because of that.

Others are quite pleased.

> I think the discipline here is very good. When you hear people talking about our students not showing up at class, nobody knowing where they are, or the fights in the hall, or the food fights in the cafeteria, and those kinds of things I hear at meetings, I have to believe that our discipline is excellent. But it's not just discipline. When a student gets disciplined, they get punished, but also, whoever is doing it, like the administration or the teachers, they also find out what's going on. A lot of the problems that students have isn't caused from just being bad because on the whole most of the kids are pretty good.

Perhaps not surprisingly, students interviewed feel that the behavior codes are too strict, that rules are rigidly laid down and they aren't given any responsibility.

> Here I am a graduating senior, accepted to college, I'll be living on my own the next four years, but I can't leave the school grounds to have lunch. I drive my own car so it would take me five minutes to go for pizza, but some kids abused the rules awhile back so now nobody can go out. I don't see why they can't give some of us the responsibility to act like adults. In this place rules are rules.

Many of the professional staff in the two districts believe that a lot of parents simply relinquish their role as disciplinarian to the school.

> We have in this district many, many children from parents that work. Both of them work full time, this is not a wealthy district, and they work in jobs like at the shoe factory, knitting mill and this kind of thing where it's very difficult to get ahold of them if you need them. And these jobs are very taxing, emotionally and physically to the parents and when they get home I think that frequently they're just too tired, and they want to take care of what they have to

> do, the house, or whatever and a lot of the discipline and a lot of the rearing is left to the school.

The interviews suggest that there are quite a few youngsters who live in one-parent homes or with step-parents. In fact, one teacher commented that when meeting the parents of her students, she avoids embarrassment by checking beforehand if the parent's last name is the same as the child's. A few teachers have mentioned that parents have given them permission to hit their children. Since corporal punishment is against both State and local policy, these requests are ignored, but the point is that parents take discipline very seriously. Yet, recently, in Bakerville, when the administration meted out punishments in response to an incident on the senior class trip, they were criticized by some for overstepping their authority. One of Bakerville's policies has, in fact, been legally challenged.

Greater insight into the emphasis placed on student behavior and performance can be gained from some background information into the eligibility list and the sports contract, policies of student conduct in effect in both districts.

The eligibility list is a policy which links participation in extra-curriculur activities to academic performance, its general guidelines are these: Teachers are asked to evaluate student academic achievement on a weekly basis. If a student is failing one subject during that week, he or she is placed on the district's warning list. If a student is failing two or more subjects during a given week, he or she is then becomes ineligible to participate in any extra-curricular school activity during that week. Performance is judged on academic effort and not on behavior. In Bakerville, the philosophy is that academic performance shall be based 4/5ths on homework and 1/5th on tests or classroom participation. Slower students are not to be penalized for intellectual inadequacies so long as they demonstrate an attempt to complete assignments. Teachers are not to use threats of ineligibility as leverage to influence classroom behavior. Rather, success or failure in a given week reflects solely a student's efforts to master their course work.

Students participate in eligibility decisions in both districts. In Applegate, student representatives particpate on the Council which draws up the ineligibility list, and in Bakerville they are involved in any appeals proceedings which may arise. In both districts, the warning and ineligibilty lists become a matter of public record by being posted outside the Main Office. It should be noted that outstanding performance is also recognized in both districts by a publicly displayed Honor Roll adjacent to the warning and ineligibility lists.

The ineligibility lists cover not only the athletic teams, but the band, cheerleading and all other after-school activities. There has been criticism that the policy is discriminatory because it affects only those students involved in after-school programs. The Superintendent's response was that extra-curricular programs are a benefit, not an entitlement, and are provided by the district contingent upon what it believes are appropriate academic standards.

> We just felt that we were rewarding people for failing subjects by allowing them the privilege of participating in extracurricular activities, be it the band, the Red Cross Club, the French Club, football, whatever. We're trying to pull ourselves up academically by the boot straps and we thought that kids will always clamor to do better if their denied extra-curricular opportunities, including dances and what-have-you.

This policy was initiated about four years ago in Bakerville by the Superintendent, with the support of the Board, as a statement that academics were the district's priority. Many in the community reacted negatively at first, arguing that the practice of weekly review was too severe. In fact, the policy has been legally challenged.

> We had an incident at one time involving the star center of the football team who was on the list, admittedly got on the list, not because of lack of ability, but lack of achievement on his part. He goofed off for a week. We were coming into a championship game and we went through the courts and he got a stay. We didn't think the judge was right, so we appealed that and went in front of another judge at a higher level and that judge ruled that this wasn't supposed to be in court anyway, that the Commissioner of Education should handle it. When it got in front of the Commissioner, and is now a landmark decision in the State, he said, yes, the Board can impose regulations on their students as long as they're reasonable, aren't arbitrary.

Although the lower court judge allowed the student to play in the game, the Commissioner of Education ruled that the policy was legal and that the student should be kept out of the first game of the following season. This precedent laid the ground work for similar eligibility requirements by other districts in the State and around the country, a fact the Superintendent points to with great pride.

The sports contract is an agreement prohibiting the use of alcohol, drugs and tobacco during the school year by district athletes and cheerleaders. Violation of the agreement results in immediate suspension from the team and ineligibility for the remainder of the season. Should the contract be broken after the completion of a season, a student risks ineligibilty the following season. The sports contract, like the eligibility list, has been criticized as being discriminatory. But Bakerville's Superintendent, who is also the Athletic Director, believes that participating on a school team is a privilege, not an entitlement and that the school has the right to require what it believes are appropriate standards of behavior.

Educational Background

The material presented thus far suggests that these two communities, which share the same quiet river valley, are remarkably similar in almost every way. But, the 1980 census reveals that adults in Bakerville have, on average, more years of formal education than adults in Applegate. Almost two-thirds of

Bakerville's residents aged 18 years and older had at least four years of high school, 22% had one or more years of college, and 11% had completed four or more years of college. Data from Applegate showed that 62% had at least four years of high school, 16% at least one year of college, and 6% had completed four or more years of college. These differences in educational training are reflected in both the employment data presented earlier, where it was noted that 11% of Bakerville's woking adults are involved in educational services as compared to 7% in Applegate, as well as in the educational training of community school board members, to presented later.

The fact that college attendance and employment in educational services is more common among Bakerville's adult population may begin to explain why differences exist in the educational priorities of students in the two school districts. Before examining these differences, it should be noted that completing one's high school education appears to be a high priority in both districts.

Among adolescents, the 1980 Census showed that of 125 individuals between ages 16-19 in Applegate, 65% were enrolled in high school, 29% had graduated and 6% had dropped out. Figures from Bakerville revealed that of 154 youngsters in the same age group, 74% were in high school, 21% had graduated and 5% were listed as drop outs.

More recent data from the districts' 1985 Comprehensive Assessment Reports (CAR) suggest that completing one's high school education remains a high priority in the two communities. Annual attendance rates have been stable at 96% in both districts from 1982-83 through 1984-85, with dropout rates of only 1.3% for Applegate and 0.7% for Bakerville reported in 1983-84. Over the past three school years, only 2 out of 63 seniors have not received a high school diploma in Applegate, and only 2 of 96 have not received a diploma in Bakerville. Put another way, this means that 97% of Applegate's and 98% of Bakerville's diploma candidates earned their diploma between 1982/83 and 1984/85. Reference group summaries (graduation figures aggregated to the State and county level) provided by the State Education Department reveal that statewide in 1983/84, 96.6% of diploma candidates in small central school districts (enrollment<1100) earned their diploma, and that the county-wide figure for Applegate's and Bakerville's sister school districts in Charleston county was 95.9%

Yet, a closer look at these figures reveals a curious difference between the districts. In the past three years, only 11 out of the 61 diplomas awarded in Applegate were the more academically demanding Regents diploma, while 42 of Bakerville's 94 diplomas were Regents diplomas. This means that on average only 4 students a year earned a Regents diploma in Applegate over the past three years as compared to 13 per year in Bakerville.

In percentage terms, only 18% of Applegate's students completed the requirements necessary for a Regents diploma over the past three years, while in Bakerville, 45% of graduating seniors earn the required credits. Reference group summaries reveal that in small central school districts in 1983/84, 47.2% of diplomas awarded were Regents diplomas, while county-wide the figure was 51.7%. The figure for Applegate in 1983-84 was 23.5% (their highest single year percentage in the 3 year span) while the figure for Bakerville was 42.3%.

Bakerville's percentage of Regents diplomas trails but closely approximates county and statewide references, while Applegate's falls well behind the group references and Bakerville's as well. Although the reasons for these differences will be explored in greater detail later in this study it may reflect to some extent differences in the educational attainment of adults in Applegate and Bakerville.

History of District Reorganizations

Both the Applegate and Bakerville Central School Districts began operating in the 1931-32 school year, with each having been formed from a number of smaller, union free and common school districts. Both districts subsequently annexed additional common school districts in neighboring towns, and by 1962, each was redesignated as part of a sole supervisory district. Applegate and Bakerville were both identified in the 1958 Master Plan for School District Reorganization for additional centralization, but while neither has accepted these recommendations, they have each considered a number of reorganization proposals in subsequent years.

The State's Master Plan recommended that Applegate consolidate with two of its immediate neighbors, Dalton and Endburg. Although this initial recommendation was never pursued, in 1965, Applegate did consider participation in a five-district merger. This proposal included: Applegate, Bakerville, the two districts cited by the Master Plan to consolidate with Applegate (Dalton and Endburg), and Cherryton, a district which the Master Plan had recommended merge with Bakerville. When this plan failed to materialize, it was followed in 1968 by a three-district proposal which eliminated Dalton and Endburg.

After this merger was rejected, Applegate explored an annexation by Farnsworth, a nearby city school district in 1972-73. Community opposition was so strong that Applegate's School Board pulled out of the plan before a feasibilty study could be completed. In 1975, a proposed merger with a previously consolidated neighboring district (Greystone-Harris) met a similar fate. Although a feasibility study was completed this time, the Superintendent remembers:

> We received a petition with the signatures of approximately 500 district residents stating that they did not want any consideration of merging with any other district. Since that particular night there has not been another discussion in terms of merging or reorganization.

The comments of this life-long resident of Applegate perhaps best capture the feelings about reorganization of many in the community.

> We don't start revolutions in this school, we just want to teach our kids and live a quiet little life. For 10 years they came down and tried any way they could figure out to get us to consolidate. Offered us a 110% funding and all this. What were we doing wrong? Why don't they tell us what we're doing wrong first? The State said that's the way it ought to be. Down here we got to see it first. We're farmers down here, got to put it in the ground and it's got to grow. When we see it, then we'll believe it.

Bakerville has had a similar history. The Master Plan recommended that it consolidate with two of its immediate neighbors. Again, this original recommendation was never implemented, though two subsequent proposals were considered in the late 1960's. The first, in 1965, was the five-district proposal which included Applegate. The second proposal was the subsequent three-district plan which involved Applegate and Cherryton. Neither proposal reached a formal vote due the strength of the vocal opposition which existed in the community.

Opposition to reorganization was strongest from lifelong residents of both districts who were afraid that their communities would lose their identity if merged with other districts.

> We felt that for us, to give up our little community, it would be like losing our identity as a community; losing Memorial Day, our own band, marching to the cemetery and so on. Losing our identity for our little football team, our baseball team, our

> basketball team, our musical programs and that sort of thing.

Note that for at least this one Bakerville resident, the school and the community are perceived as a single entity, with the lose of the school being equated with the lose of the community.

There was also concern that a larger, consolidated district would result in children spending more time on buses. This was especially at issue in the 1965 and 1968 proposals which involved Cherryton, a district roughly twice the size and enrollment of either Applegate or Bakerville. Residents of Cherryton were insistent that if a new high school were built, it would have to be in their district. Concern about travel time can be discerned from these quotes from parents and former students in Bakerville:

> The #1 reason I opposed it was because some of my kids would have had to go miles to school. That's the reason I opposed it, the length of the ride.
>
> Our district was spread over quite a wide area (42 sq.mi.) and that was a big fear, just where the school would be located.
>
> How do I get home after school if I play sports and the school is six miles further and I already I live eight miles from there now?

In their present configurations Applegate is roughly 28 sq.mi. in area, while Bakersville is 42 sq.mi. A three-district merger with Cherryton would have resulted in an elongated district 151 sq.mi. in area, running roughly 25 miles from the southernmost point in Applegate to the northmost point in Cherryton. Travel time is presently of no great concern in

Applegate, and only of mild concern in Bakersville, where a few students report 45 minute bus rides. Had the proposed merger been approved and resulted in a new high school school being built in Cherryton, long bus rides would have become commonplace, particularly for Applegate's students who live furthest from Cherryton.

Support for a merger came primarily from residents who had originally lived in or had experience with larger school districts. These transplanted residents, who seem more in evidence in Bakerville, argued that a larger district would allow for enhanced course offerings.

> When I first moved into the area, many years ago, there was talk of reorganization. My daughter was in grade school at the time, and I worked very hard for it. If your schedule doesn't come out just right in a small school, you know you're going to miss a lot of plans, and many of the sports are limited. I thought it would be a very good thing, but of course it didn't go.

Claims by the State that reorganization can ease the tax burden of local residents were rejected by both pro- and anti-reorganization factions. Residents in both districts, but particularly in Applegate, contend nearby districts that accpeted reorganization imposed higher school taxes following reorganization.

> For one thing, reorganization never saves anybody any money, in fact, it might cost you more.
>
> I knew a family that lived over there, and when they merged, he sold his house because he said he can rent cheaper than he pays

> taxes. His taxes were higher than what it would cost him to rent a place so he sold his property. His taxes were $1200 a year and you could rent an apartment for $100 a month at the time (about 1960).

In Applegate residents also expressed the concern that reorganization might involve having to assume the debts of another district.

> And that's one thing the community is against, taking on somebody's debts. You can't blame them. I think this year the last payment on the elementary school will be made and I think it's $2500 and that's it. That wipes out any debt this district has. All their equipment is paid for, everything is paid for.

Residents in the two districts also believe that the smaller partner in each of the nearby consolidated districts has lost more, in terms of community identity, than they had gained, in terms of improved education. With this in mind, they remain fearful of reorganization since both Applegate and Bakerville would be the smaller districts involved in any reorganization.

> They consolidated several years ago and they were a community just a little bigger than us. Their people are very unhappy with the situation...They feel that as far as the world is concerned, and the State in particular, they are the larger community, they no longer have their own identity.. because everything happens in the larger community where the high school buildings are. They still have their elementary school but they've had some problems because there's been alot of talk about moving it out.

Lingering resentment over the bitterness of those earlier reorganization debates (particularly in Bakerville, where there appears to have been a more active pro-merger constituency) has prevented further discussion on the issue.

> I know people that were best friends, no longer spoke to each other, there was a great deal of animosity. I think the people that were for it were very much for it and the people that were against it were adamantly against it.
>
> It was like openning a can of worms. There were families against families and it affected churches to this day.
>
> It was like two armed camps and there were folks in the Baptist church who were on one side of the issue and some on the other and that was never, never corrected.

In Applegate, reorganization is a particularly sensitive topic, at least when raised by outsiders such as this research team. It was evident that suspicions were aroused when questions were asked about reorganization. Helge (1981) has reported about rural attitudinal problems with regards to the "intrusion" of outside innovators. Our research team was perceived to be snooping around for the State, in order to build a case for reorganization. A brief anecdote reported by one of our interviews helps to illustrate this point.

> One evening I traveled to Applegate to interview school board members. Prior to the first interview, I was introduced to an older gentleman who served as the school district's clerk. Much to my surprise he said that he already knew who I was, even though I was quite certain that we had never met before. Yes, yes, I remember you. You had breakfast at the diner about two months ago and were asking a whole bunch of questions about our little school. I was sitting nearby and I don't forget things like that.

In lieu of any future plans for merger, the superintendents and school boards of Applegate, Bakerville and Cherryton hold regular joint meetings to discuss common problems and cooperative sharing. While one State Education Department Official generally supports these meetings, he feels that it is inevitable that Applegate merge.

> For the Applegate's of New York State, reorganization is the only route they have. They keep looking for straws. They've just got too many deficiencies.

In contrast, this same State official feels that Bakerville offers such an excellent academic program, given its limited size and wealth, that reorganization is not necassary.

> Bakerville is, in my opinion, the other side of the fence. It fits the category of having as rich a program as a small district could have. They're innovative, for example, they've had a math lab and the math lab has been so successful that they're in the process of phasing it out because their kids are performing so well in math now. It's really, I think, one of the better run, if not the best run, small school districts that I've seen.

Yet many, including the local Superintendent in Bakerville, believe that reorganization is inevitable as the district's fiscal capabilities are pushed to their limits by State mandates. But in the mean time, the local superintendents have successfully addressed a number of common problems through their thrice-annual, tri-board meetings. Among their cooperative ventures have been:

1) The purchase of a turf "spiker" which none of the districts could afford but which they now share,

2) The sharing of a vocal music teacher by Applegate and Bakerville at a savings of $3000 below the cost of purchasing the same service through BOCES,

3) Sharing the costs of transporting students to an SAT enrichment seminar offered in a neighboring city district,

4) Sharing the cost of a college-credit English course offered in the evenings,

5) Cooperation by Bakerville and Cherryton on a telecommunications project in astronomy,

6) Bakerville and Cherryton joined their junior proms to enable the purchase of better entertainment,

7) As previously mentioned, the participation of wrestlers from Bakerville on Cherryton's wrestling team, and the future participation of Applegate's athletes on Bakerville's football team, and

8) The three superintendents have switched schools for a day, and there is talk of trying the same with teachers, counselors, and students.

The School Systems

Demographically, the school systems in Applegate and Bakerville are as similar as the communities themselves. Applegate has an enrollment of 260 pupils and encompasses 27.81 square miles. Bakerville has 393 pupils drawn from a 42.08 square mile area, thus both have an identical 9.3 pupil per sq.mi. density. Because these districts were originally pieced together from smaller common school districts, neither has a central population center. As a result, most students live in the surrounding countryside and nearly 90% must be bused to school. This is particularly the case in Bakerville where the population is clustered around two of the larger more urban communities in which many residents work. These larger communities border opposite ends of the district, one to the northeast and the other to the west. In fact, many Bakerville students live closer to the high school in the city district to the west than to their own school. Bakerville bus routes must cross through the city district in order to pick up a number of students.

Although its population is geographically fragmented, there appear to be no intra-district neighborhood rivalries in Bakerville. Like the community itself, the school system and its students seek to maintain an identity distinct from their larger neighbors.

While both school districts saw their enrollments drop over the past decade, they both project enrollment increases over the next few years. Applegate experienced a 37.65% decline in enrollment during the past seven years, yet plans to add a second kindergarten class in 1986/87 to meet projected enrollment increases. Similarly, Bakerville experienced a 17.44% decline in enrollment between 1978-83, but had to add an additional kindergarten class in 1985/86.

Applegate's enrollment decline actually improved one of the factors causing the district to consider reorganization. Applegate's Superintendent contends that the reduction in student population eased a problem of over-crowding in the district's two small buildings, an elementary building housing grades K-6 (built in 1955) and a secondary building for grades 7-12 (built in the 1930's) roughly a quarter of mile away. The district was forced to hold classes in the bus garage adjoining the high school in order to alleviate the problem of over-crowding.

The State claims that conditions in the garage were substandard and that it was necessary to close this facility to classes. Although reductions in the district's student population no longer makes over-crowding an issue, the State still believes that Applegate's high school facilities still leave much to be desired. For example, the high school does not have a cafeteria and students must walk to the elementary school for hot lunch.

Bakerville's entire K-12 educational program is housed in one main building constructed in 1936 on a 17-acre campus which has a football field, baseball diamond and bus garage on its grounds. This two-story building has a large room on the first floor which doubles as the school's gymnasium and auditorium. Seven adjacent portable classrooms located directly behind the 88 main building will be replaced by a permanent seven-room addition which was approved by a district referendum in May,1985. The cost to the district for this addition will be roughly $1.1 million. This permanent addition was requested by Bakerville's Superintendent and school board in order to house the programs they need to meet the Regents Action Plan requirements. The State cites this building project as an example of the difference in support for education to be found in the two districts.

Bakerville's school board and local superintendent sold the building referendum to the community as a necessity brought about by the mandates of the Regents Action Plan. Interviews with community residents suggest strong support for the logic behind the building proposal.

> I think a lot of people realize that we really do need it because with the new Regents Action Plan we just don't have room enough to put all those classes.

Although the addition received overwhelming community support, it did not go uncontested. As one resident argued,

> The Regents Plan doesn't mean anything; we don't have to do all that.

The Faculty

The New York State Basic Educational Data System (BEDS) Personnel Master Files (PMF) were used to develop the following profiles of the "average" teacher in each of these two districts. In 1984, Applegate's "average" teacher was 34 years old and had 8 years of teaching experience, of which 7.2 years were spent in Applegate. This teacher had a bachelor's degree plus roughly 15 additional graduate credits, earned $14,345, and was equally likely to a man or a woman.

The "average" teacher in Bakerville has a somewhat different profile. In 1984, there was an 80% probability that a Bakerville teacher was female, who was a little older than her Applegate counterpart (at 38 years of age), a little more experienced (with just over 10 years to total teaching experience of which 8.5 years were spent in Bakerville), a little further along in her educational training (with the average teacher having either a BA+30 credits or a Master's degree), and a little better paid (at $16,630).

A closer examination of the data reveals a number of interesting facts about the teachers in these two districts. For example, the data on degree status reveals that in 1984, of Applegate's 22 teachers, 50% had only a Bachelor's degree and 14% (three teachers) had a Master's degree or better. The remaining eight teachers reported having a BA+30 graduate credits. In addition, none of the six teachers new to the district that year had either an advanced degree or any prior teaching experience.

In contrast, figures from Bakerville show that 19% of the district's 27 teachers had only a BA, while 41%, had a Master's degree or better. Of seven new teachers, only one had no prior teaching experience, but that individual did have a master's degree.

Teacher salary levels may account for some of these differences. In Applegate, starting salaries in 1984 were approximately $10,500, the lowest starting salary in their supervisory district, comprising 18 school districts, and near the lowest statewide. The mean entry level salary for a teacher with just a BA and no prior experience in 1984 in New York was $14,315 (Jacobson, 1986).

Applegate does not have a formal salary schedule, rather the district's policy is to negotiate starting salaries with teacher candidates. Depending upon an applicant's educational training and years of prior teaching experience, the present contract allows starting salaries to fall within $10,400-13,400 for candidates with a Bachelor's degree and $11,400-14,400 for those with a Master's degree. Subsequent salary increments are negotiated with the teachers' union and are specified in the district's contract. Presently, all teachers receive an annual increase of $1500, and those completing a Master's degree receive an additional $1000.

In contrast, Bakerville uses a lock-step salary schedule which presently offers a base salary of $11,973 to a teacher with a Bachelor's degree and no previous teaching experience. A teacher with a Master's degree and ten years of teaching in the district earns $17999, while the district's maximum scheduled salary of $24787 is for 20 or more years of service and a doctorate. Educational differentials of roughly $200-300 are paid for almost every six additional graduate credits. Bakerville's Superintendent states that he would like very much to do away with the existing salary schedule and replace it with a schedule which pays larger increments at a few points in a teacher's career, e.g., after five and ten years. Salaries for years in between would raise by some negotiated percentage. In addition, he would like to offer larger educational differentials but at only the Master's and MA+30 levels.

As of 1984, the highest salary paid in the districts was $25100, for a BOCES teacher whom they share. When her salary is removed, Applegate's highest salary is $18,175 and Bakerville's $21,873, for teachers with 18 and 17 years of district experience respectively (both have only a BA). It is small wonder that both Superintendents perceive BOCES teachers as being relatively "high-priced". As noted earlier, by sharing the costs and the vocal teacher outside the BOCES system, the districts claim to have saved $3000 in salary from what it would have cost them to purchase the service through BOCES.

Another way that Applegate has kept down the cost of teacher services has been through the practice of hiring inexperienced teachers almost exclusively. A number of rationales for this practice have been offered, including these from a school board member:

> I feel more uncomfortable with our older teachers. They got out of school 22 years ago and haven't gone back, so who's better? Would you rather go to a surgeon that went to school in 1945 or would you like to go to a surgeon that just got out of medical school?
>
> Never buy a horse that somebody else pulled. A kid comes out of college, he's going to go out there and work, by God they're hot. You've got to have the fire.

The Applegate Superintendent also suggested that he likes to break teachers in "his way". But more often, the explanation returns to the bottom line issue of low salaries and the detrimental effect it has on recruitment. A number of veteran

Applegate teachers indicated that the district has, of late, become more generous with their starting wage.

> They just have to realize that it's not that easy to get teachers these days, there's not an over-abundance of teachers like there was 10 years ago, and the school has to pay whatever it takes to get qualified teachers.

As a result of these compensation practices, i.e., negotiating a somewhat more generous entry wage and then providing equal increments regardless of seniority, salaries of teachers relatively new to the district are not much different than those of district veterans. This has created some resentment and has affected teacher morale.

> Sure, there's bound to be some (resentment), but we know that's the way it is. There's nothing in the contract to get away from that, unless you went back to a basic salary step schedule.
>
> It's been downhill the past couple of years. We got some new people that don't associate with the faculty here in the high school. It's not that social anymore.

For a number of teachers, Applegate appears to be a place you work when you need a job and can't find one elsewhere. The following quotes are from three different teachers, the first, a 13-year veteran of the district, the second, a teacher new to the district with no prior experience, and the third, a second year teacher.

> I was originally looking to teach in a larger school district. I was starting my Master's when my mother called and said that this school wants you to come for an interview. I knew where the place was and I didn't send an application there and they want me to come.

> So I came, and it was like terrible salary and all that stuff, I figured, well, I can do it for a year.
>
> I applied to another school district not too far from here, and it was word of mouth from that school district to the Superintendent and he gave me a call because I didn't apply here. I needed a job and I wanted to get back into it because I had taken a year off. I'll stay for a while, it's very small, it's a little bit smaller than what I wanted.
>
> I'm from nearby originally, so I was looking for something in the area just for the first couple of years to get some experience. But I didn't realize what I was getting into coming here. I was very interested in the BOCES position.

With only a few exceptions, the faculty members we interviewed believe that they will eventually leave the district. As one veteran teacher commented, "I would leave in 30 days if the right job came up."

Indeed, one veteran teacher went so far as to say that you had to leave the district before retirement if you wanted to draw a reasonable pension. Since retirement benefits are computed on the basis of one's last three years of earnings, he suggested that it was common-sense for teachers to move on to better paying districts later in their career. The most senior Applegate teacher in 1984 had 18 years of district service. The fact that over 95% (695) of New York's 731 school districts had at least one teacher with 20 or more years of district service in 1984 (Jacobson, 1986) suggests that this individual's speculation accurately reflects teacher behavior in Applegate.

However for many of the teachers, the district seems to have remarkable holding power. In 1984, there were ten teachers on the staff with from 7 to 15 years of experience whose entire career had been spent in Applegate, in fact, only three teachers in the district had ever taught elsewhere. The primary attractions of the small district for teachers appear to be autonomy, small class size, lack of discipline problems and the diversity of assignments.

> Throughout the past 14 years I've applied or thought about applying to different school districts. But you know, the bottom line is I'm happy doing what I'm doing here. I'm completely on my own, nobody tells me how to run my program. I don't have any specific guidelines to follow, I follow pretty much what I think is necessary. And I know that if a class comes to me weak in certain areas that its my own fault, I can't lay the blame back to anyone else.
>
> There isn't a class here that's above 25 (students) right now. That's a definite advantage, because we don't have as many discipline problems and you can really get a lot done with the people that you have.
>
> I'd be bored if I had to teach the same thing two or three periods a day. I think this is much better having more variety, There's a lot of pressure, but I think you get stale a lot faster if you teach the same thing over and over again.

Swanson (1961) offers another, albeit less positive, explanation for the ability of low expenditure districts to retain veteran teachers.

> It appears that school systems at the upper levels of expenditure are able to recruit selectively...and to retain their experienced personnel of high caliber. Systems at the

> lower levels seem subject to a 'dreg effect'. Their teachers of high caliber are drained off and they are left with the residue.

Male teachers represent almost 50% of Applegate's faculty, yet the fact that all 10 men work in the high school building creates sense of gender segration. In contrast, Bakerville's 5 male teachers represent less than 20% of its full-time staff of 28, but because all the teachers work in the same building, the genders seem more evenly balanced than in Applegate.

The way Applegate's teachers are distributed by gender has some negative consequences. For example, when asked about collegial attitudes among her peers at the high school, one female teacher quickly responded in a rather derisive tone, "I don't know if you've noticed, but it's an all male faculty."

While there are, in fact, two female teachers at the high school, a 'good, ole boy' attitude pervades the atmosphere. The teacher quoted above added that she would probably feel differently about her colleagues if she were a man, because then they would treat her differently. An anecdote provided by one of our interviews about the lounge is instructive.

> At lunchtime on the afternoon of one of my visits to the district, I noticed a group of about five or six male teachers quickly making their way to the teachers' lounge in a house which adjoins the high school. Seeing this as an opportunity to conduct an informal group interview, I followed along. Lunches were quickly unwrapped, cigarettes lit, and playing cards shuffled for another hand in what is obviously a long-standing game. During the game, they tolerated my questions about teaching in the district, although they seemed more interested in whether I would throw a buck into their football pool. I

> should note that they also tolerated the presence of one of their female colleagues, one of the few who ventured into their sanctuary. In jest, they said they see themselves as a M.A.S.H. unit and that the teachers' lounge is their 'Swamp'.

It was hard to tell whether their responses to my questions were for the record or simply for their own amusement. The casual atmosphere in the lounge was clearly a way to blow off steam and I enjoyed the company and jokes shared, yet I could appreciate that the "maleness" of the situation might prove excluding to a female colleague.

Few of the Applegate teachers we talked to were particularly enthusiastic about working in the district. Basically, they believe that their jobs are okay and would have to do until something better came along. There seems to be some areas of contention among Applegate teachers in their relationship with their teacher association. Although the Union President claims that most district teachers are members and see the need for the union, many of the teachers we interviewed made comments along the following lines:

> Most teachers do not want the union, because the union usually accepts whatever the Board offers so we have a very low percentage join the union. At $220 a year, most us would rather have the $220, which is what we tell the new teachers that come in now.

> The main thing is that teachers' unions are fine in larger schools because they're the ones that get all the benefits from the New York State United Teacher's Union. The small schools don't get any benefits. I think you would find that in the long run that the non-union people are the ones that have been

> here long enough to realize that the union does us no good. It's a very weak union.
>
> The non-union faction by far outnumbers the union faction. It's gotten so bad that they have to come and consult us on what they want to negotiate on because basically it boils down to five teachers.

Some openly complained about what they perceive as a cozy relationship which exists between the union and the administration. They said that the district makes its salary offer and the union simply rolls over. While these non-union members seem to be arguing for more adversarial contract negotiations, it is clear that most district teachers, whether union members or not, agree that the district just can't afford to pay them more.

> These people can't afford to pay us any more, this is a very poor district. Oh sure, they could pay us a little bit more, but you're talking peanuts really.

As one Applegate school board member noted,

> The teachers have to look at it this way too. You're dealing with a small school district. If they come in here and I have to go to the people and say our taxes are going up 17% next year to pay the teachers, I wouldn't have to negotiate the next session, the townspeople would come in and do the negotiating for them, that's the way it would be.

Although there seems to be less union discontent in Bakerville, salary appears to be no less of a concern among Bakerville's 28 full-time teachers. The President of Bakerville's teachers' association, an affiliate of the NEA, claims to represent 98% of the faculty. He points out that Bakerville's salary schedule is the third lowest in their supervisory district, Applegate's being the lowest. Bakerville's salaries are on average about $2000 per year less than what their larger neighbors pay teachers with comparable training and experience. As a result, Bakerville has, on ocasion, lost key personnel to these larger districts including, most recently, their Assistant Superintendent, who became Cherryton's elementary school Principal. It should be noted that his successor as Assistant Superintendent was a Cherryton teacher recruited by Bakerville for his first administrative position.

Despite these salary differentials, up until a few years ago Bakerville's faculty was relatively stable and there wasn't much turnover. From the Superintendent's perspective he has had a dedicated and a seemingly satisfied faculty,

> They are dedicated. They do a good job. We try to reward them at negotiations. In my ten years, we really never had much crabbing.

And indeed, from the teachers' perspective, the small class sizes and the administation's strong emphasis on discipline make the district an attractive place to work.

> As a teacher, I like to teach here. We have an administration that runs a very tight ship and I guess it depends upon how you look at that, but I find it a real pleasure to know that when you get here, basically if there is a problem, somebody is going to back you up. And the kids know that, so we have very few major disturbances, then you get on with the task of teaching, that's where it's at.

Yet several incidents occurred over the past few years in Bakerville which resulted in a number of teachers leaving the district, including the past two presidents of the teachers' association. These incidents involved the administration beginning a 3020A dismissal proceeding against a tenured teacher (who ultimately received $50,000 in severance pay as a contract buy-out), two pressured retirements of senior elementary teachers, the non-renewal of an untenured teacher (who is presently seeking reinstatement on a procedural grievance) and a round of strained contract negotiations.

Naturally, each of these incidents is viewed differently depending upon who is doing the talking. First, a comment from an individual who believes that the administration acted unfairly:

> Basically, I guess it got started over negotiations,a contract negotiations where we didn't think we got treated fairly. And it led to some hard feelings between some particular teachers. We got the impression that persons who were actively involved in showing a difference of opinion with the administration were being treated a little more harshly than some of the others. Persons who were co-Presidents both left the district because they felt they were being treated wrongfully. They left not because they really wanted to. The two groups really drifted away from each other, the administration on one side and the teachers on the other. My personal opinion is that the Superintendent is the type of person who wants everything done exactly his way and as long as nobody rocks the ship or anything, nobody questions what he's doing, then everything is fine. As soon as the

> confrontations come about, you never seem to be treated quite the same afterwards.

In four of the past five years, Bakerville had an average of two teachers per year leave the district. But in 1983-84, the district experienced an abrupt increase in turn-over when 7 teachers or almost 25% of a 29 member faculty left:

	# Teachers leaving
1980-81:	2
1981-82:	3
1982-83:	1
1983-84:	7
1984-85:	2

In fairness to the Superintendent, here's how he perceived the incidents which have been alluded to:

> We pulled a successful 3020A, teacher had 22 years experience, this was 3 years ago. It cost us a couple of years pay, but that's very, very cheap considering what it's costing 3020A's across the country. And last year we were successful in nudging out one that was really not doing much with kids. There was an $800 dollar settlement. Basically, they're on tenure and what will entice them to get the hell out of here so that we can get someone who will do something with kids. That's basically what it's about.

These next two quotes, first from a member of the faculty and then from a community resident, offer additional perceptions of the administration's actions.

> I think it got their attention because for a long time the prevailing feeling has been that once you have tenure, that's all she wrote, that's it, you're here whether somebody wants you here or not. It difficult

> to get a 3020A as you well know. The appropriate steps have to be taken which means documenting, documenting, documenting. Attempting to help an individual if there is a problem, documenting that, and it was done right. Yet the person simply did not respond to any of the helps that were offered. This particular superintendent meant what he said and he did have high expectations and if you're not willing to abide by those expectations then perhaps there are other places where you can find employment.
>
> The administration is very aggressive. With the new people, he is very aware. It never gets past two years with him if there is someone who shouldn't be here. He has gotten rid of a couple of tenured people. He has asked them to resign. One fellow was going to fight it. I had said for years he was the poorest teacher that I had ever seen in my whole life. It was a buy-out of a contract, three years salary. But as far as I'm concerned they should have done it ten years ago and I would have paid him the ten years if I had to go in hock up to my armpits.

Bakerville's Superintendent was referred to in every interview conducted in the district. Even from among those who have butted heads with him over different issues through the years came the acknowledgement that he is an excellent administrator and the pivotal figure in whatever educational success the district has achieved over the past decade. Perhaps the single quote which best summarizes the attitudes expressed was this one from a former faculty member.

> I think it's had a good reputation as a solid school, not as anything fancy, not that we've got a lot of exceptionally innovative programs, but we've offered a good, solid, sound education. It's a strict district where there have been certain expectations made of students and its not been an easy school to graduate from. I think it has that

> reputation. Part of it has to do with the Superintendent. I think he is known as someone who has very high expectations not only for himself but of his staff, which means that the staff is going to have high expectations of their students, and that's what he's trying to accomplish.

Notice the similarity between the quote above and Rosenholtz' description of the effective principal (1985, p.360-361):

> Effective principals convey certainty that teachers can improve student performance and that students themselves are capable of learning. Goals of high student achievement are almost always at the forefront of their planning and action...
>
> Administrative leaders communicate a certainty that student outcomes are linked strongly to teacher efforts.

References to administrative certainty, the keystone of Rosenholtz' model of effective schools, pervade the interviews referring to Bakerville's superintendent.

Additional insights into these districts can be drawn by noting differences in how these districts negotiate their teacher contracts and differences in the contracts themselves. Applegate elects to have a school board member represent the district at contract negotiations, while Bakerville is part of a five-district alliance which pays a legal firm to represent it at negotiations. The Superintendents in the two districts have very different philosophies about how negotiations should be conducted. In Applegate, it is felt that since the district's money is being negotiated (and ultimately its tax rate), the district should be represented by one of its own at the table. In Bakerville, the attitude is that negotiations should be as professional as possible, and that by having outside negotiators, neither the Superintendent nor the Board is drawn directly into the heat of a negotiations battle. The cost of legal fees figures into this difference in approach, since Bakerville annually budgets $10,000 for attorney services (covering day-to-day matters, litigation and negotiation fees), as compared to Applegate's legal budget of $1,000 per year.

The policy of face-to-face negotiations creates problems for Applegate's teachers as the union President notes,

> You know every single person, sometimes in negotiating that's a disadvantage because you have to face a person who you've known all your life, across a table and have to ask for a raise in salary. That's difficult. The bridge between employer and employee is very tight, you know each other well and it's difficult. If you didn't know them at all it's much easier to negotiate, I think... You're working with people mostly that had a difficult time in school and then they're on the Board of Education and the relationship between having to pass a budget and their experience when they were in school is a tough thing for them to solve.

A former board member concurs,

> I was on the negotiating committee several years and it's hard. Now again you must keep in mind the type of an area we're in. One member on the Board now, as an example, he runs a sawmill and his people are drawing 3, 4 or 5 dollars an hour. And then you start talking $18-20,000 for a teacher that works 9 months of the year, from 8 in the morning until 3 in the afternoon and they resent it.

Yet, a present board member and district negotiator firmly supports the district's policy.

> I think we have an overall advantage because it's a small district. Older teachers are known on a personal basis as well as a professional basis and I think it makes the understanding a little better. The teachers know that this is not a big income area, they realize we have a limit and we can't give them everything we would like to and so negotiations aren't all that hard.

In contrast, Bakerville's Superintendent takes a very business-like attitude about the contract and negotiations.

> We have changed very little wording in ten years. We think the bottom line is salary, let's get on with it. Who's kidding who. We give the negotiators the means to show their stuff and they earn their pay and if it goes beyond that we may be in trouble. But we both realize what the game is and it has to be played. Again, very practical, very reasonable. We get on with it.

Given these different appproaches to negotiations the districts' contracts are, for the most part, quite similar, although a few interesting points should be noted. Both districts' contracts contain a clause regarding potential mergers. In Applegate this clause states that teachers will enjoy no less then their present contractual rights in any reconfigured district, while in Bakerville, this clause merely states that teachers will be notified as soon as possible of changes which will affect them. Whether Applegate's merger clause would be legally binding on a new district is an open question. Assuming that it was, it could prove a potential impediment to any future reorganization.

In Applegate, the contract states a teacher's day, "shall not exceed seven hours and ten minutes", including a 30 minute lunch and 150 minutes of prep time per week. For secondary level teachers (7-12), each preparation period over 5 that they teach is compensated by $300. For elementary teachers, each child over a class size of 25 is compensated with $5. There are no other contractual class-size provisions. In Bakerville, teaching loads are more clearly enumerated. Contractually, maximum class size is 25. Classes with between 28-31 students are allocated a teacher's aide for a predetermined number of periods per week, e.g, in grades K-6, there will be an aide 4 periods per day and in grades 7-12, an aide one period per day. Classes with an enrollment of 32 or more are divided into two sections, following a contractual guideline which states that pupils will be evenly distributed according to their ability so that each class will be a mixed group and that no children are labeled "slow learners". In addition, every teacher must have a daily 40-minute lunch and a 40-minute preparation period. Typically, a teacher's daily course load is seven assignments, two more than teachers in the larger nearby districts

The Bakerville teachers we interviewed were more enthusiastic about their work and about the quality of their district's educational program than were their counterparts in Applegate. In Applegate, the attitude seemed to be "we're doing the best they can", while in Bakerville there seemed to be more concern about "how can we do it better." For example, when one veteran Applegate teacher was asked about his graduate training and the availability of attending workshops and seminars in his subject area, he said,

> I graduated with a B.A., no Master's, but I've got my 30 hours. Occasionally we have teacher conferences with the surrounding schools but not very often. I've found in the past I don't get a whole lot out of those things.

This teacher appeared to be satisfied with his 30 hours of advanced training and did not want to be bothered with additional coursework or conferences. In contrast, note the enthusiasm in this comment from a Bakerville teacher:

> I went to a number of seminars and courses last year that really helped me out. This year I'm going to the New York State Science Teacher's Convention. I figure interacting with teachers from all over the State, some of these teachers may have faced some of the problems that I am facing now in a small school.

We have no basis for claiming that Bakerville's teachers are better teachers than Applegate's, but there are clear differences in attitudes and desire to improve. At the risk of sounding redundant, Bakerville's Superintendent must be given some credit for the spirit among his staff, as attested to by one of his senior teachers,

> I really believe that the Superintendent is behind it. He's an excellent Principal. Every year since he's been here, we have done something to improve our program. I think he's the main reason behind it, because you tend to stagnate unless you get pushed. We've just always been working to improve our program in one way or another, every single year. This is my 19th year. We're well

> ahead of the Regents Action Plan. We're pretty much into it, we're doing almost everything we need to do right now. He got the ball rolling and got us going.

School Administration

Both districts have two administrators; a Superintendent, who also functions as the secondary school principal, and an Assistant Superintendent, who serves as the elementary school principal. Both Superintendents have been in their position for over ten years, while both Assistant Superintendents are new to their respective districts and to administration as well. In both instances, the previous Assistant Superintendent moved on to a similar, but better-paying position in a larger school district. While both Superintendents expressed pleasure over the capabilities of the individuals whom they have hired, both noted the difficulties in training a new assistant. Candidly, they admit that the salaries offered made it difficult, if not impossible, to recruit anyone with prior administrative experience. This is a problem that extends beyond administrative recruitment, since both districts are often forced to hire teachers who have only a temporary license. Speaking about her own experiences, one of Bakerville's two science teachers told us:

> They hired me on a temporary license, that's part of the reason why I'm at Bakerville, other schools were not willing. Many schools will not even look at your application because you're not certified. We had to fill out a special form that gave me a temporary

> license. After my second year of experience I got my permanent certification.

Applegate's Superintendent appears to be secure in his position, having served 11 years as Superintendent following 12 years as Elementary Principal. The role he plays is that of a steward whose responsibility is to be very open with the community and to give them the type of school district they desire. His perceptions appear to be borne out by the following interviews: (1) with a State official familiar the district's administrative history, then with (2) past and (3) present school board members, and finally (4) from the Superintendent himself:

> (1) Applegate has a Superintendent that does the best job he can with the resources he's got available. They have had a very heavy turn-over of superintendents. One of the reasons is that they were never willing to pay enough to attract decent candidates. Another one was, who wants to go to that size school, that isolated, where you run the risk of being buried professionally. How do you get out of an Applegate?. If there was a decent superintendent and he got the opportunity to move, he moved right away. Or, if they couldn't attract a good person, they'd hire a guidance counselor who had certification, but no experience and they'd just fail. There was turnover about every two years. The present Superintendent has been with them quite some time. He likes it there and he's doing what the Board wants him to do.

> (2) Basically, if you're honest and straight-forward with people in this community, people have no problems. As long as they don't feel that you're trying to put something over on them. All the time I was on (the school board) we had excellent rapport. To begin with, he never tries to interfere with the Board, never! He will submit what he thinks is needed and then it is strictly up to the Board, he does not try to argue them for or against. Let's face it, they have had an excellent administrator up there, he's done a wonderful job.

(3) We pay him damn good money to administer, why rob ourselves by doing it ourselves? You go to a mechanic and say your car is not running, you don't tell him what to fix on it. It's the same when you deal with the superintendent.

(4) I want you to know that Applegate is not unique in that we do not have problems. We have problems. But they're presented out in the open, we try to work something out, but we do have problems.

As noted earlier, a chief concern of district residents is student discipline, an area which in which Applegate's Superintendent takes great pride.

> I don't mean to blow my horn, but I think that discipline in this school is outstanding. My philosophy being that if you discipline and have a good school, everything else will fall into place. If you don't have that discipline factor and consistency factor, I think you lose something.

Indeed, the Superintendent brought out the fact that there are a number of students in the district who actually reside in surrounding communities, but whose parents have transferred them into Applegate because of its reputation for strict discipline. Applegate's attractiveness to these out-of-district parents is enhanced by the fact that Applegate charges no tuition for non-resident students. One school board member suspected that if it wasn't for this no tuition policy Applegate would have very few non-resident students. This board member suggested that this policy has in fact helped to maintain the district's enrollment figures.

At 10 years, the incumbency of Bakerville's Superintendent is almost as long as his Applegate counterpart. Yet, he appears to be more aggressive in terms of providing direction to his school board. While this has led to a number of skirmishes in the recent past, including the district's first and only budget defeat, even his adversaries cite him as an outstanding administrator as noted by the following comments:

> I think the small schools that work the best have the best leadership. I think that it seems to be much more of a factor in a small school. I think we've had a very workable system here for a long time because he and the other administrators have been disciplinary, which I believe in and I think has made for a solid school system.
>
> I think so many times you see an administrator who is just trying to put his time in for two or three years and move on to a larger district. He's been here for 8 or 9 years and it has solidified things. I think that has certainly helped us and I see it as a factor.

There is a perception among some in Bakerville that the Superintendent is too autocratic and that the Board has been merely his rubber stamp. Note these comments from a present school board member and a long-time supporter of the Superintendent:

> I think that for years and years the Board of Education in this school district was kind of invisible because of the Superintendent. Everything kind of went along fine and smooth and the Board wasn't really visible to people. People started asking questions (about the building referendum) and then the Board is there to stand up to them and these people have never heard from the Board before so they get this feeling that it is another one of the Superintendent's pet projects. You know, it's just another thing being crammed down their throat and they fight from

> that aspect, from the one person rule, and obviously it isn't.

Yet it appears to be the superintendent's straight-forward approach to leadership which draws praise from a group of potentially severe critics, teachers present and past.

> We feel that we have a good strong administration that knows where they want to go and knows what they want us to do. And, for the most part, we work along pretty well together and especially in areas that have to do with the education of the children in this school and I think we've got a good sound program going.
>
> I have felt that he has a bulldog charisma. I believe that describes him to a tee. He is very efficient, he has his finger on the pulse of that school and I think that the kids are sufficiently in awe of him so that he has their attention when he needs to get it. Replacing him would be a very hard bill to fill, very definitely. Discipline-wise he is very, very effective.

And this comment from a State official:

> I attribute most of what's happening in Bakerville to the openness and willingness of the superintendent to get involved. He's constantly alert to to opportunities to improve his program. That's the way he is, he isn't a great imaginative, creative thinker himself, but has the smarts to know that there are good programs out there and he just brings them in. He's a good manager, he brings things in and he keeps his staff alert, very much involved with the planning aspect of the school's business. He and his board go away every year for a retreat. He developed their mission, statement, goals and strategies to implement those goals. He's going to survive and that district is going to survive while he's there. He's a thinker. He's really student oriented. Tough disciplinarian, but only in terms of you're here to learn and let's make sure you do it.

Board of Education

There exist a number of differences in the composition and practices of the school boards in these two districts, perhaps the most significant of which is that a majority of Applegate's board members are graduates of the district's school system and life-long residents of the community. According to one of our respondents:

> I think that every one of their board members came through their school system and as far as they're concerned, it's good enough for them. That old-time religion bit. There's nobody from the outside who has been someplace else and said, 'I've done this or that and the school I was in had all these programs.' They don't have that perspective. I would guess that every one of those school board members is a graduate of Applegate's high school and stayed in the community.

The same attitude is reflected in these comments from Applegate teachers:

> The school takes the attitude of the community, they're kind of set in their ways, they don't like things to change drastically. You get a few people on the Board occasionally that have moved in from other places, but primarily their Applegate graduates.

> You're working with people that had a difficult time in school and then they're on the Board of Education. The relationship between having to pass a budget and their experience when they were in school is a tough thing for them to solve.

In fact, not all of Applegate's board members are graduates of the district, but there seems to be a distinct difference in the attitudes of those who are and those who are not. Two had received their educational training in Applegate while the other two had gone to school elsewhere. Of the two home-grown board members, only one had graduated from high school and neither had any college training. The one who had dropped-out had not forgotten the experience.

> I quit school in 9th grade, I feel that I was bored out of school. I don't hold it against anybody but myself, but it's something that I want to make damn sure doesn't to another child if I can help it.

Both of these board members are satisfied with the educational program offered by the district, although they recognize that the district could improve its percentage of Regents diplomas. They suggest that the low Regents figures are related to attitudes of the students and their parents.

> It's kind of a family town, if Mom and Dad didn't go to college, then kids kind of think that they don't need that Regents stuff. A good majority of our kids are that way. Country kids are a little inclined to be that way sometimes.
>
> Long time residents like their children to stay here. Around here a lot of children go on to the farm. If you're a farm boy, you want to be a farm boy.

In contrast, the two board members who both grew up in other communities are less satisfied with Applegate's schools.

> I think a lot of the feeling around here is that small schools were good enough for me

> and they're good enough for my kids. Unless the State steps in and says something has to be done, nothing is done. I don't want to see the control of education lost by the local district but there have to be some guidelines.
>
> If the rural school is going to promote college material and expand the horizons of the rural child, they're going to have to bring more programs in.

The inclination of Applegate students to stay near home, is viewed by one of the Board members who is not a lifetime resident, as a fear of the outside world. Noting social events held in conjunction with other school districts she observed,

> Typically, the Applegate kids do not mingle, but the other kids do. For the most part the Applegate kids are always huddled in a corner by themselves. We cannot get them to interact. It's just an in-bred kind of think, some of them have never been out of here. Last year one girl went through a very traumatic time. Born and raised here, went to school through here and then went to a very large college. The first semester she was really devastated, but she turned it around.

How this non-lifetime resident was elected to the Board as a write-in candidate is a story in itself.

> We knew that we were coming to a very small rural school, something that our children had never experienced before so naturally we were concerned. Not that its a bad place or a bad situation, but certainly a different one with some negative sides. I never had any aspirations to be on the Board, probably will never do this again, but we became involved in the Concerned Parents Group. We found ourselves asking questions, trying to get a general impression of what was going on and what kind of system our children were going to be involved in. Obviously we asked a lot

> of the right questions, questions that promoted discussions. We gave them some input as to what had gone on in other places. A lot of people were saying to run for the Board, to ask those questions at the Board where they could generate discussion and create new ideas. I didn't give any serious thought to it, I tried to play it down but it was too late. When the vote was taken, I won, maybe 90 out of the 120 that voted. There's no way that many people could have known me well enough to vote for me.

In fact, the write-in vote was the work of the Concerned Parents Group. This is a small group of about 25 community people, mostly parents, who meet once a month to discuss shared concerns about the school system. The group, which has been in existence for about four years, was initially treated with suspicion by the Administration and the school board. A "concerned parent" recalls that two board members thought they were a lynch mob. The group began because it perceived a lack of both community involvement and direction by the Board in strengthening discipline and raising student expectations. There is considerable disagreement over level of community involvement and direction provided by the Board during the past 10 years. Note these comments by the write-in member of the Board and by a member was on the Board for most of those years.

> There had been a total lack of community involvement in the school for the last 10 years. There was just no input, whether good or bad, the school was being run by the administration. There was no community involvement whatsoever and the same board members were always running.
>
> This is a very adversarial board and has been for 10 years. I've had people tell me

> otherwise and I say, I've never seen your face at a board meeting. If you think this is a rubber stamp vote come to the next meeting.

Yet, many people in the community are uncomfortable attending board meetings or addressing the administration. In Applegate, and in Bakerville as well, a lot of school-related issues are discussed over the telephone or in private with school board members.

> People are not comfortable, even if they've grown up in the community and attended the school, they're not comfortable walking into the school unless they're called.
>
> I get a lot of phone calls, personal phone calls, people saying what's going on or can you help me here or there.
>
> They don't ring, they come looking, they know where to find me. They're intimidated by seven people, so they go see the guys they know and say can you do something about this.

Applegate's seven member school board holds monthly meetings that usually last two hours. According to board members, community turn-out for meetings typically consist of only a handful of people:

> Two or three members of Concerned Parents, a couple of radicals, a couple of John Birchers, and I think one Klu Klux Klanner. They keep us on our toes.

Applegate budgets $1500 annually for its board members to attend conferences and workshops (roughly $215 per member per year), yet as one long-time Applegate board member told me,

> I steer away from State conferences, it's all propaganda, it's all what the State wants you to do. The State gives you money but then tells you how you can spend it. What's the

> sense of having a school board? They come up with mandates for this and mandates for that and we have to sit there and listen to how great things are going.
>
> My biggest complaint about the New York State School Board Association is that every time you go to one of their seminars they just never have an answer.

In fact, Applegate no longer belongs to the New York State School Board Association because it was felt that was too expensive to belong, especially since nobody was availing themselves of the services offered.

Bakerville has a five member Board which meets twice a month. I'm told that these meetings typically last three hours. Its interesting to note that although it has fewer Board members than Applegate, Bakerville allocates twice as much ($3000 or $600 per member annually) for its members to attend conferences and workshops. At a meeting I attended in Bakerville, four Board members presented reports on state conferences they had attended and discussed plans for a series of regional workshops they hoped to go to. Most of Bakerville's Board members grew up and were educated in other communities and the district has had a number of professionals on the Board in recent years, including a dentist and a lawyer. In contrast, Applegate's Board is comprised primarily of individuals who have not gone to college. Differences in the educational backgrounds of Board members reflect educational differences which exist in the communities. These differences may contribute to differences in emphasis placed upon college preparation as revealed by the numbers of students obtaining Regents diplomas. As the Board member from Applegate put it, "If Mom and Dad didn't go to college why should I." The fact that in Bakerville, it is more likely that Mom and/or Dad has gone to college, may raise expectations for their children to do the same.

Bakerville's Board has been criticized in recent years as being "invisible" and merely acting as a rubber stamp for the Superintendent. This is a criticism which even some Board members acknowledge and as one member told me, is working hard to overcome.

> The Board is working hard to establish its credibility as a governing body for the school district. Obviously the Board doesn't govern the day-to-day activities of the school district, but the Board is a viable group that can act and be counted on to serve the best interest of the people they represent.

As in Applegate, some of this perception may be based upon limited community turn-out at Board meetings. The Board has tried to address this issue through better communications.

> We have all the communication in the world. We have a weekly newsletter for communications purposes. We have two meetings a month which are published in the newspaper and the people know that we are there. I don't know what the Board can do anymore than actually go out and pull peple off the street.

Another aspect of the problem may be that before the present Administration, the district had serious discipline problems.

> Before the present Superintendent came here, it was a real free-for-all, the kids ran the

> school. I had relatives going to the school at the time and some of the things that I heard they used to do were ridiculous. Coming and going as they pleased. Then things straightened-up, he worked well with the teachers and we got an excellent staff.

The ability of the Superintendent to turn things around resulted in the Board being very receptive to his suggestions, therefore it may have made him a victim of his own success. By that, I mean that the willingness of the Board to follow his direction resulted in the perception that they were merely his rubber stamp. The issue seems to be less directed at decisions made by the Board than at what is perceived by some as authoritarian leadership.

Curriculum

Four comparisons of district curriculum and student achievement outcomes can be found in the analyses at the end of this section. Analysis I contains an examination of changes in courses and the number of sections offered by the two districts in their core secondary curriculum areas of English, Foreign Language, Math and Science in 1974, 1978, 1982 and 1984. Analysis II is a comparison of the 1984-85 course offerings of the two districts with those of districts of similar size.

Analysis III compares the results of students in these two districts with statewide and countywide references groups on three tests: the Pupil Evaluation Program (PEP), the Preliminary Competency Tests (PCT), and Regents Competency Tests (RCT).

Analysis IV compares the number of students in each district taking and passing June and January Regents examinations during the past three school years: 1982-83, 1983-84 and 1984-85. This comparison includes the passing percentages of both a statewide reference group of small central school districts (enrollment < 1100) and the county-wide percentages of Charleston County in June 1984.

Each of the comparative studies includes a table followed by an analysis of the data presented in the table.

Elementary Grades

At the elementary level, Applegate and Bakerville are alike in that each has only one class for each grade K-6. Enrollments for 1984-85 were:

	Applegate	Bakerville
K	23	27
1	22	26
2	19	20
3	23	22
4	15	26
5	13	23
6	17	30
Total (K-6)	132	174
Ave. (K-6)	18.9	24.9

The two districts are quite similar in their basic program offerings at the primary grades. The instructional emphasis of the first-grade teachers in both districts is almost identical. Note these comments by Applegate's first-grade teacher followed by Bakerville's first-grade teacher:

> The primary grades are encouraged to emphasize reading, math, and writing skills. Reading, math and writing skills. We are also, of course, by law supposed to do science, social studies and the extras, but it's personal choice that I do reading for the entire morning.
>
> The most lengthy sections of our day are in reading and in math. Reading we group because there are such varied levels of ability in here and that usually takes all morning.

Both teachers use four reading groups to accommodate the different ability levels of their students, and both have the support of a teacher's aide for at least part of the week. In

Applegate, the aide comes in for one hour, three mornings per week; in Bakerville, the aide spends 40 minutes each morning in the classroom. District "specials" include art, music, library and gym, and in Applegate, Spanish instruction in each elementary class for 15 minutes per week.

Perhaps the feature which most differentiates the elementary programs in these districts is that all elementary classes in Bakerville begin their day by participating in a 20-minute morning program. Designed to enhance self-esteem through the recognition of individual achievements, birthday acknowledgements and songs, this program, now 3 years old, is based on a model developed in another New York school district. As Bakerville's former Assistant Superintendent recalls,

> We first heard about morning program at the New York State School Boards Convention. We saw it (an exhibit) at the convention and thought it was really unique, really different. Really an exciting way to start the day for kids in elementary school to get together in a positive mode, positive feeling. So as a result of that we went down to the district and visited for ourselves. I went down and I took a team of four teachers and we spent a day, like in May 1983. As a result, we were just very excited and we wanted to do it here. So that summer we spent 4 or 5 days of service time to organize and plan the program, and it began in September of 1984 here. We're the only school in the area that does such a thing, it's worked out very, very well for us. We start every school day together, 8:30 to 8:50 in the morning, all the children all the teachers and myself. My role is to coordinate and run the program. I'm usually the key speaker and the person that runs everything on a daily basis.

> When the children first come in, we sing a few songs, do some rhythms, get the kids involved, active right off the start. At that point we do our Pledge of Allegiance and sing our patriotic song and the rest of the morning program is devoted to talking about school news, activities or events going on at school. Celebrating kids birthdays, honoring students, a variety of things. The whole thing is geared on a self-concept kind of thing and how to build the kids up and give them a lot of recognition, support, and help kids start their day on a very positive note. So that we feel, when they leave at ten of 9 in the morning, they've gotten a great start on the day, they're happy, they're awake, they're alive, they're thinking, and when they get to reading and math, they're ready to go. Yet it's not just a fun time, everything is geared in academically. We talk alot about social studies. This whole week with the exception of today has been computer week. We've had a monitor and computers in during the week and showed the kids different graphics and things that can be done with software. There are different themes each month, each week. Everything is geared in academically, social studies, alot of math and alot of reading gets in there.

During a visit to the district, we had an opportunity to observe the morning program. The enthusiasm expressed in the preceding interview was clearly in evidence the morning of our observation. A number of students came over to us, introduced themselves and welcomed us to their school. The school band gave a mini-concert, and indeed, there was a very positive feeling generated throughout the room. When asked about the carry-over of these feelings into academic areas, the Assistant Superintendent responded,

> The other district has been doing it for 13 years and they've seen significant differences. I suspect that we will in time.

> We have no hard data at this point in terms of test scores before or test scores after. Our own observations as far as feelings are concerned, it is having an effect, and a little more time we will see what's going on.

Secondary Grades

It is at the secondary level in these districts that the constraints imposed by small size and limited fiscal resources become most apparent. Yet, it is the response of the districts to these constraints which makes an interesting study in contrasts.

Based on data reported in their 1985 CAR reports, enrollment rates for grades 7-12 in 1984 in Applegate and Bakerville were:

Grade	Applegate	Bakerville
7	24	32
8	16	37
9	27	34
10	14	39
11	23	39
12	22	38
Total (7-12)	126	219
Ave. (7-12)	21	36.5

In both districts, core subject areas such as English, Mathematics, Social Studies, and Science are typically one or two teacher departments. Average class sizes in these four subjects for grades 8 and 10 in 1984 were:

Subject	Grade	Applegate	Bakerville
English	8	18	20
Math	8	16	16
Science	8	19	21
Social Studies	8	16	21
English	10	14	19
Math	10	8	17
Science	10	10	27
Social Studies	10	17	21

Science. In order to cover all the sections offered, the course load required of an individual teacher is often truly remarkable. What follows is a typical teaching day in the life of Applegate's senior science teacher:

> A typical day starts off, I teach an introductory computer literacy course for 8th graders. We're on a half-year cycle, I get half the class for the first half of the year and half the second. The boys and girls are split in gym class, so I see them twice a week. At the same time I have another student who's picking up a 1 credit computer course, she's a senior, so it means I'm teaching two classes at once the first period.
>
> During the second period, I'm teaching a Regents Physics course in the science room, plus I have an independent Pascal senior student over here in the computer room at the same time.
>
> During the third period, I'm doing coordination work with the elementary school and I'm also up here working with BOCES through the tele-communications project. So I'm basically doing computer work third period, my off period.
>
> Fourth period I'm in the computer room teaching Junior and Senior, 1 credit and 1/2 credit, computer courses. We're having both classes going at once. The 1/2 credit students are supposed to be halfway behind

> the full-credit students. That alternates on different days, but I see most of them 5 days a week.
>
> Fifth period I'm teaching Regents Biology across the hall in the Science room. That period I don't have anybody else.
>
> Sixth period I teach a Senior, 1 credit, computer course. I see them every day of the week.
>
> Seventh period depends on the day, I have two separate Physics labs that meet. Regents Physics twice a week, a Mon- Wed lab group and a Tue-Thur lab group, and on Friday I have a Regents Biology lab.
>
> Eighth period is another free period. I'm either here or the elementary school, because the second half of the year I'll be teaching 4th and 5th graders Introduction to Computer. Or else I'm up here doing computer coordination or trying to set up stuff for my science class.

As hectic as that schedule sounds, it was actually worse in the past:

> I did all of the sciences right up until last year. Last year it was a bit of a circus, I taught (grades) 7-12 science, plus three computer courses. At one point I had three things going on in the same period: Biology, Advanced Computer and Introductory Computer.

In order to teach all these different courses, Applegate's senior science teacher has the following educational training and certification:

> Because I majored in Biology and minored in Chemistry, I have permanent certification in Biology, Chemistry and General Science 7-12. I can also teach Physics as my one out (of certification area) and the computer requires no certification because the State has nothing for it yet.

The addition this year of a second science teacher to work with the junior high school grades was the district's response to the mandates of the Regents Action Plan. One teacher told us that without pressure from the Regents, Applegate would have continued to allow the science teacher to instruct, "ten or so preps a day." This opinion is supported by a State official:

> I'm not sure they believed it, but they offer a very adequate program. It's a district that is really very entrenched provincially. I don't see anyway that their going to meet the Regents Action Plan requirements. They don't have the money to do it. I don't even think they have the support. They're in this very interesting position of not being willing to do anything about it, but they are not able to meet the requirements. I don't know what's going to happen. How long they will be able to survive and not be called to task for not meeting the regulations, I don't know.

Among these deficiencies are problems created for students as a result of tight scheduling. For example, Applegate offers physics and chemistry in alternate years. This means that students are unable to repeat either course if they should happen not to pass the Regents exam. As the science teacher notes, this problem is not limited to just Physics and Chemistry,

> That's a chance in Biology, too. If they wanted to take Biology over again, there's only one Regents Biology class and that will probably not match the schedule of a Junior or a Senior. If they wanted to take it again, it boils down to reviewing books or sitting in on a couple of Biology classes and then taking the Regents over again. It's just a matter of getting a high enough grade on the Regents. I had one girl take it 6 times before she finally passed.

The group which seems most affected by these problems are those youngsters considering the option of going on to college. As one teacher notes,

> There's no great college preparatory group here, it's more like they figure out how little they can do to graduate. They don't like anyone who gets too high a grade, that's not considered normal. There's a lot of social pressure to underachieve. A lot of the ones who do well here moved into the district from someplace else, they're not home-grown.

In fact, one science teacher is so dissatisfied with what's available, or more acurately what's not available, for his best students that he's encouraged some of them to leave the district.

> I've tried to get them (the brighter students) to go to the larger nearby districts to finish off their science if they were interested in science.

A lifetime Applegate resident, whose sister is a school board member, argued that he didn't believe it was the district's responsibility to provide advanced placement courses for the brighter children. He felt that the district's obligation was to provide the basic requirements for a diploma and anything beyond that was the responsibilty of the individual student and his or her parents. He suggested that correspondence courses were a viable alternative for college-bound youngsters. When we asked school board members about this attitude, most felt that it was fairly typical in the district.

The course loads of Bakerville's science teachers are only slightly less frantic,

> I have 4 lecture periods a day, 2 lab periods, a study hall, my lunch and a free period. I teach a Regents Earth Science class that's predominantly 9th graders, Regents Biology that's predominantly 10th graders and a Regents Chemistry class that is most of the 11th grade. The other teacher teaches Physics to the seniors, so I get very few seniors. Because there's only two science teachers, I usually end up having students three years in a row.
>
> I have two sections of Earth Science and one section of the other two. Then we have labs, each student has one lab a week in addition to their classes. Labs are smaller, some chemistry labs have only 3 students and the typical earth science lab is 8. The largest class that I ever had was 27.
>
> I teach junior high science, Environmental Science and Physics. I have 23 students in an 8th grade physical science class but the rest of my classes run fairly small. Physics has 8, Environmental Science 9, one section of 7th grade life science has 16 and the other section of 8th graders around 18.

At least one of Bakerville's science teachers expressed concern about the district's lack of supplies.

> Look around this room, I have virtually no equipment. When I came last year I had none. Apparently, it had been a complete textbook type of course, whatever labs they had been doing were very minimal. There had been a succession of teachers coming through that had been here each for a short time, the maximum I think was two years (although the other teacher has been there 15 years). When I wanted to run a physics lab, I didn't have any materials and it created a real problem to do a demonstration in the classroom. I do not have a computer here, to teach with a computer would be a tremendous asset, but to budget that would take almost our entire budget. We'll try again next year to get a computer, but we do have that problem, lack of equipment and lack of funds.

The district has attempted to help this teacher rectify some of these problems, both in terms of materials and morale.

> We have an agreement with 6 other schools to lease a Skylab (an astronomy and space laboratory) and we have it for six weeks a year. It's portable and goes on the stage and is available for any class to use. It's very beneficial to the students. I took almost all my classes.

Yet given the problems they face, Bakerville's science teachers have a positive attitude about their program and attribute much of it to the superintendent.

> Our Regents record is fairly good. In some schools teachers will have students in their Regents classes they'll tell not to even bother to take the Regents. Whereas I say to a kid, what have you got to lose. I know that hurts our percentages, but I encourage all the students. The way I look at it, if I wanted the percentages to look good, then I would say forget it, but I don't. Sometimes in this area, being economically depressed, academics don't always take the highest priority. I think the faculty is really trying to stress that that should come first in this school. You know, with a change of administration the place could fall apart. I would hope that we could find as strong and effective an administrator as he has been. Sometimes he's a little strong, he has his own ideas but he's willing to listen.

Mathematics. The mathematics departments of these two districts require a single teacher to cover a wide range of preparations. A typical day for Applegate's math teacher:

> First period is Trigonometry, 11th graders, 10 students. Second period is Math 7, 18 students. Third period is Geometry with about 12 students, fourth period is

> Pre-calculus with 9, fifth period is study hall, sixth period is Math 8 with 22, seventh period my prep, and eighth period is Algebra with 12 students.
>
> I haven't always been the only math teacher. Up until about 4 years ago we had two math teachers but then the district started going down in size again so they let one go.

A typical day for Bakerville's math teacher:

> Right now I am the math department. I teach 7th graders, then I have the 9th graders in Course I, then I have 12th graders, then I have the 11th grade for Math 11 and then the advanced 7th graders. In the afternoon I have Course II, and the 8th graders, then I have a free period. The computer teacher used to have the second half of the 8th grade, and General Math is now done through the Business department.

Bakerville has, over the past year, begun to change its math curriculum. The attempt has been to provide alternative tracks for students who have differing success with math, but are still required to meet the Regents mandate to graduate.

> They can take the Business sequence or Course I,II, and III, or they can take General Math if they're weak. We started teaching the math sequence courses last year. Right now we have Courses I and II, we're phasing out the old and in with the new and it seems to be going very well, it's well accepted by the students. I think that more kids have been trying the Regents courses. We have a Guidance Counselor who has been very good at encouraging the kids to try. I know there was some talk in the beginning that the new Courses I, II, and III were going to draw in more students because it was an easier program. I don't find that to be true, I find that if anything, it scares them in the beginning when they start out with logic.

> We also have an advanced program. I teach the advanced 7th graders. They do 7th and 8th grade work all in one year, then go right into Course I. From that time on, they're a year ahead, so they can pick up calculus.

While Bakerville's math teacher enjoys the diversity in her work, she sees the work-load as a detriment to recruitment.

> If I were a first-year teacher I would quit. I would never go into teaching if I had to tackle 7 subjects a year, I just couldn't handle it. I don't know how a new teacher could handle it coming into this school and picking up 6 or 7 courses and I would say it's pretty typical of small schools in our area.

One teacher departments create a number of additional problems, including the fact that everything shuts down when the teacher is absent, as both Applegate's and Bakerville's math teachers attest.

> When I'm absent they get a substitute in, but they never get subs that are math oriented, so it's pretty much a wasted day.
>
> I have a sub who babysits. I have not been able to get a math sub for awhile, most of the time the person has no knowledge of math.

One teacher told me that it's easier to come in sick than to have to make up the missed work, therefore he hasn't taken a sick day in 6 years. Another problem that arises from a one-person department is that students and teachers are required to interact continuously regardless of the quality of their relationship. The following perspectives are offered by a teacher, a parent and a Board member:

> The brighter kids and I never have any problem, it's the ones that don't really care about being in class, which happens in 7th and 8th grade, so when they get to 9th grade, they take General Math rather than Algebra, so I'm done with them after 8th grade.
>
> He ruined five of my kids, they just went right down hill.
>
> The English teacher is their English teacher for four years. It's the same teacher. They become a protege of that teacher. They can wind up really heavy into literature but very weak in grammar.

Others view the on-going interaction as an advantage because the teacher is aware of the students strengths and weaknesses while the student knows what the teachers expectations are.

Rather than continuing to examine subjectively the educational programs offered by these districts, let us now turn to a more quantitative comparison of curriculum and student outcomes using data provided by the State Education Department.

ANALYSIS I

Change in Core Curriculum 1974-1984

The following table shows the number of sections offered per course in English, Foreign Language, Math and Science in Applegate and Bakerville in 1974, 1978,1982 and 1984. These data were collected by the State Department of Education and can be found on the Personnel Master Files.

	1974	1978	1982	1984
Applegate				
English 7	1	1	1	1
English 8	1	2	1	1
English 9	3	2	1	1
English 10	2	2	1	1
English 11	1	1	2	1
English 12	1	3	1	1
# sections	9	11	7	6
# courses	6	6	6	6
Bakerville				
English 7	2	2	2	1
English 8	2	2	2	2
English 9	1	2	2	2
English 10	3	0	0	2
English 11	2	0	0	2
English 12	2	0	0	2
Composition	0	1	0	0
Mythology	0	0	1	0
Dramatic Literature	0	0	1	0
Poetry	0	1	1	0
Science Fiction	0	1	1	0
Journalism	0	1	1	0
Sports Literature	0	1	0	0
Short Story	0	1	0	0
Novel	0	1	0	0
Writing Lab	0	0	2	0
# sections	12	14	13	11
# courses	6	11	9	6

Applegate's course offerings in English have remained constant over the past decade, with sections being added or deleted to accommodate changes in enrollment. In contrast, Bakerville experimented with a series of 10-week English mini-courses. Although these courses were popular when first introduced, Bakerville's superintendent suggests that students seemed to lose interest in them over time. Student disinterest coupled with pressures created by the mandates of the Regents

Action Plan led Bakerville to return to the same basic English curriculum offered in Applegate.

	1974	1978	1982	1984
Applegate				
French 7	0	1	0	0
French 8	0	1	0	0
French I	0	1	0	0
French II	0	0	0	0
French III	0	1	0	0
French IV	0	1	0	0
Other French	0	0	1	0
Spanish FLES	0	0	0	0
Spanish 7	0	0	0	0
Spanish 8	0	0	0	0
Spanish I	0	1	0	1
Spanish II	0	1	0	1
Spanish III	0	0	0	1
# sections	0	7	1	3
# courses	0	7	1	3
Bakerville				
French I	1	1	1	0
French II	1	0	0	1
French III	1	0	0	1
Spanish FLES	0	0	0	1
Spanish 8	0	0	0	1
Spanish I	0	1	0	0
Spanish II	0	0	0	1
# sections	3	2	1	5
# courses	3	2	1	5

Both districts have had limited course offerings in foreign language over the past decade. Applegate has completed a switch from French to Spanish while Bakerville is still in the transition. Note that French is offered only at levels II and III in Bakerville, to allow those students who began with French to finish their requirements, while Spanish has been introduced to the elementary and junior high curriculum.

	1974	1978	1982	1984
Applegate				
Math 7	1	1	1	1
Accelerated Math 7	1	0	0	0
Math 8	1	1	1	1
Accelerated Math 8	1	0	0	0
Remedial Math	0	0	2	2
Math 9 (Basic)	1	0	0	0
General H.S. Math	0	1	1	1
Pre-Algebra	0	1	0	0
Algebra	0	1	1	1
Math 10 (Basic)	0	1	0	0
Math 10 (1 yr.)	2	0	1	1
Math 11 (1 yr.)	0	1	0	0
Math 11 (1.5 yr)	1	0	0	0
Trigonometry	0	0	1	1
Advanced Algebra	1	1	0	0
Pre-Calculus	0	0	0	1
Math 12 (Applied)	0	0	1	0
Probability	0	0	0	1
Introductory Calculus	0	0	0	1
# sections	9	8	9	11
# courses	8	8	8	10
Bakerville				
Math 7	1	3	2	1
Accelerated Math 7	0	0	1	1
Math 8	1	2	2	2
Remedial Math	0	0	2	3
General H.S. Math	0	1	1	1
Algebra	1	2	1	0
Course I (1.5 yr)	1	0	0	0
Course I	0	0	0	1
Math 10 (1 yr.)	1	1	1	1
Math 11 (1 yr.)	0	1	1	0
Math 11 (1.5 yr)	1	0	0	1
Advanced Algebra	1	1	0	0
Pre-Calculus	0	0	1	1
Introductory Calculus	0	0	1	1
Computer	0	0	3	2
# sections	7	11	16	15
# courses	7	7	11	11

The math curriculum is similar in the two districts with the major difference being that Bakerville has begun the Sequential Math program. In addition, the Accelerated Math 7 course offered in Bakerville, but discontinued in Applegate, allows brighter students to move through the course work more rapidly, thereby creating more scheduling flexibility later in their high school program.

	1974	1978	1982	1984
Applegate				
J.H.S. Life Science	1	1	1	1
J.H.S. Physical Science	0	2	2	1
J.H.S. Earth Science	1	0	0	1
J.H.S. General Science	0	2	1	1
Ideas in Science (H.S.)	1	0	0	0
Regents Biology	0	1	1	1
Regents Chemistry	1	1	1	1
Regents Physics	1	1	1	1
Earth Science (Local)	0	2	0	0
Other Science	0	0	1	0
# sections	5	10	8	7
# courses	5	7	7	7
Bakerville				
J.H.S. Life Science	2	1	2	2
J.H.S. Physical Science	1	0	2	1
J.H.S. Earth Science	0	2	2	0
J.H.S. General Science	0	0	0	1
Ideas in Science (H.S.)	1	0	0	0
Regents Biology	0	1	1	1
Biology (Local)	0	0	1	0
Environmental Science	0	0	1	1
Regents Chemistry	1	1	1	1
Regents Physics	0	1	1	1
Physical Science (Local)	1	0	0	1
Energy Science	1	0	0	0
Regents Earth Science	0	0	0	1
# sections	7	6	11	10
# courses	6	5	8	9

The most striking curricula differences between the districts appears in their science offerings. The data for Applegate are misleading because they suggest that the district offers one section of Chemistry and one section of Physics each year when those subjects are in fact only offered in alternating years. This means that Applegate offers a very restricted program at the high school level with only two sections of Regents level science a year and non-Regents courses (although two sections of Earth Science local were offered in 1978). Bakerville has a broader science curriculum with four Regents courses having been taught in 1984 as well as two non-Regents science courses for students not likely to do well on the Regents exams.

In light of the Regents Action Plan, Natural Science, Math 10, French 11, Computer Math 7 (two sections), and Business Dynamics have been dropped from Bakerville's 1985-86 course offerings. In their place the following courses have been added: Environmental Science, Math Sequence Course II, Business Office Practice (two periods), Spanish - 7th and 8th grades (two sections each), Consumer Math, Technologies - 7th and 8th grades (two sections each), Introduction to Occupations (two sections), Driver Education (four sections), and four Health Education 1/4-credit courses (for seniors only). No additional course changes are anticipated for the 1986-87 school year.

ANALYSIS II

This table compares the course availability of each of the two districts with a sample of ten districts of comparable high school enrollment in 1984-85. The first column is the course title, the second is the number of sections of that course offered in Applegate (enrollment grades 9-12 = 84) in 1984/85, the third is the mean number of sections in that course offered by the district sample comparable to Applegate (enrollment range = 78-94). The fourth column has data from Bakerville (enrollment 9-12 = 148), and the last column is Bakerville's comparison group (enrollment range = 144-152).

Comparative Study of District Course Offerings 1984-85

	Applegate		Bakerville	
H.S. enroll 1984:	(84)	(78-94)	(148)	(144-152)
Kindergarten	1	1.0	1	1.8
Grades 1-6	1	1.0	1	1.8
Developmental Reading	0	0.8	1	0.2
Remedial Reading	2	6.3	1	4.9
Total Elementary	9	14.1	9	17.7
English 7	1	1.1	1	2.2
English 8	1	1.0	2	2.2
English 9	1	1.2	2	1.9
English 10	1	1.1	2	1.9
English 11	1	1.5	2	1.2
English 12	1	1.2	2	1.3
Total English	6	7.1	11	10.7

	Applegate		Bakerville	
French II	)	0.8	1	0.6
French III	)	0.5	1	0.6
Spanish FLES	)	0.0	1	0.8
Spanish 8	)	0.1	1	0.2
Spanish I	[illegible]	0.2	0	0.4

	Applegate		Bakerville	
Spanish II	1	0.4	1	0.6
Spanish III	1	0.4	0	0.4
Total Foreign Lang.	3	2.4	5	3.6
Math 7	1	1.0	1	1.8
Accelerated Math 7	0	0.0	1	0.1
Math 8	1	1.1	2	1.9
Remedial Math	2	2.2	3	2.8
General H.S. Math	1	0.8	1	1.1
Math 9	1	0.7	0	0.2
Course I	0	0.3	1	0.8
Math 10	1	0.8	1	0.5
Math 11	0	0.8	1	0.6
Trigonometry	1	0.1	0	0.0
Math 12X	1	0.5	1	0.4
Probability	1	0.1	0	0.0
Introductory Calculus	1	0.3	1	0.4
Computer	0	0.2	2	1.2
Total Math	11	7.9	15	11.8
J.H.S. Life Science	1	1.3	2	1.8
J.H.S. Physical Science	1	1.0	1	1.1
J.H.S. Earth Science	1	0.8	0	0.7
J.H.S. General Science	1	0.4	1	1.5
Regents Biology	1	1.0	1	1.0
Environmental Science	0	0.0	1	0.2
Regents Chemistry	1	0.7	1	0.5
Regents Physics	1	0.6	1	1.0
Physical Science(Local)	0	0.0	1	0.1
Regents Earth Science	0	0.2	1	0.6
Total Science	6	6.0	10	8.5
J.H. Cultural Heritage	1	1.0	1	2.0
J.H. U.S. History	1	1.1	2	2.0
J.H. Asian-Afro Studies	1	1.2	2	2.0
European Culture	1	1.4	1	1.5
American Studies	2	1.5	3	2.2
Consumer Economics	1	0.2	0	0.0
Law Related Studies	1	0.4	0	0.0
Local Studies	0	0.0	1	0.1
Other Social Studies	0	0.4	2	0.2
Total Social Studies	8	7.2	12	10.0

	Applegate		Bakerville	
Elementary Art	1	1.7	1	2.7
Art 7	0	0.7	1	1.0
Art 8	1	0.6	0	0.9
Studio in Art	1	0.6	1	0.9
Drawing	1	0.3	1	0.7
Graphics	1	0.1	0	0.1
Sculpture	1	0.1	0	0.2
Ceramics	1	0.1	0	0.1
Independent Study	1	0.1	1	0.3
Other Art	0	0.0	1	0.4
Total Art	8	4.3	6	7.3
J.H. Health Education	0	0.9	1	1.1
H.S. Health Education	2	1.1	2	1.0
Phys. Education K-6	0	4.4	7	6.1
Adaptive Physical Ed.	7	0.8	0	1.0
Phys. Education 7-12	6	5.4	8	6.7
Total Health & P.E.	15	12.6	25	23.6
Music K-6	1	2.6	1	2.5
Music I	1	1.0	0	0.9
Music III	1	0.1	0	0.0
Elementary Band	1	0.4	1	0.9
H.S. Concert Band	1	0.8	1	1.0
J.H. Marching Band	1	0.1	0	0.0
Instrumental	1	0.4	1	1.3
J.H. Chorus	1	0.3	1	0.7
H.S. Chorus	0	0.9	1	0.9
Total Music	8	6.6	6	8.2
Business Dynamics	1	0.9	1	1.0
Business Mathematics	0	0.5	1	0.7
Keyboarding	0	0.6	1	0.6
Adv. Keyboarding I	0	0.1	1	0.4
Adv. Keyboarding II	0	0.1	1	0.2
Shorthand Theory	0	0.0	1	0.2
Shorthand Transcript	0	0.1	1	0.2
Keyboard/ Bus.Comm.	1	0.8	0	0.8
Bookkeeping	1	0.6	1	1.0
Other Business	1	0.2	0	0.0
Total Business	4	3.9	8	5.1

	Applegate		Bakerville	
Human Development	1	0.7	0	0.7
Housing	1	0.8	0	0.8
Food and Nutrition	1	0.7	0	0.9
Textiles and Clothing	1	0.5	0	0.5
Management	1	0.2	0	0.1
Careers	0	0.1	1	0.1
Health and Safety	1	0.2	0	0.0
Relationships	1	0.4	0	0.2
Total Home Economics	7	3.6	1	3.3
Industrial Arts 7	1	0.5	1	1.1
Industrial Arts 8	1	0.8	0	0.6
Mechanical Drawing	0	0.1	1	0.5
Metals	0	0.1	1	0.1
Power Mechanics	0	0.0	1	0.3
Woods	1	0.4	1	0.7
Production Drawing	1	0.1	0	0.0
Small Engines	1	0.4	0	0.0
Ceramic Products	1	0.4	0	0.0
Construction	1	0.1	0	0.1
Independent Study	1	0.1	0	0.2
Total Industrial Arts	8	3.0	5	3.6
Other	1	0.4	1	0.6
Helping	1	0.2	0	0.0
Library	1	1.1	1	1.2
Total no. sections	102	103.2	113	136.2

Based on total number of sections offered, Applegate is almost identical to its reference group, while Bakerville offers fewer than the mean number available in its reference group. In fact, Bakerville resembles more closely the districts of size to comparable Applegate. A larger part of this difference occurs at the elementary level. On average, the districts in Bakerville's reference group have two sections per primary grade while Bakerville has only one. In addition, both Applegate and

Bakerville offer fewer sections of developmental and remedial reading than their respective reference groups.

By subject area, both districts offer more sections than their respective reference groups in foreign language, math, social studies, health and physical education and industrial arts. In English and science Applegate falls below and Bakerville above their respective reference groups (discounting Applegate's chemistry and physics total by one), while in art, music and home economics, Applegate offers more sections and Bakerville less than their reference.

Applegate's unusually varied art program reflects the interests of its Art teacher. The number of sections offered is almost twice that of a comparable size district and is greater than the typical number of sections in a district the size of Bakerville. Similarly, Bakerville has greater diversity in its Business course offerings than in the comparable sample of districts.

ANALYSIS III

Using data from the 1985 CAR reports and reference group summaries, the tables below report the percentage of pupils in Applegate and Bakerville who scored above the State reference point (SRP) on Pupil Evaluation Program (PEP), Preliminary Competency (PCT) and Regents Competency Tests (RCT) from 1982-83 until 1984-85. The first column under the heading marked "Spring 1984" reports the mean percentage of pupils in small central school districts (Enrollment < 1100) statewide who scored above the State reference point (SRP). The second column under "Spring 1984" are county-wide figures:

Grade	Test	1982-83 % above SRP		1983-84 % above SRP		1984-85 % above SRP		Spring 1984 % above SRP	
	Pupil Evaluation Program (PEP)								
		'A'	'B'	'A'	'B'	'A'	'B'		
3	Reading	77	80	93	96	100	90	87	82
	Math	77	85	100	92	100	95	89	86
5	Writing	82	96	89	96	93	95	88	90
6	Reading	74	76	75	88	69	87	88	81
	Math	68	85	40	80	75	73	88	83
	Preliminary Competenct Tests (PCT)								
8	Reading	100	100	80	97	100	88	93	89
	Writing	95	86	95	74	93	47	86	79
	Regents Competency Tests (RCT)								
	January								
	Math	60	33	100	94	100	71	76	74
	Reading	100	94	100	100	100	100	99	96
	Writing	80	81	96	100	95	95	90	86
	June								
	Math	88	81	100	100	77	86	81	82
	Reading	100	100	100	100	100	100	94	87
	Writing	75	100	100	100	-	100	75	75

In 1982-83 Bakerville reports a higher percentage of students above the State reference point than Applegate at all three grades and across all three subject areas. While Bakerville still reports higher figures in four of the five tests in 1983-84, Applegate shows an improvement over the previous year's scores, particularly at the third grade (although grade five math drops to 40%). By 1984-85, the districts are roughly comparable across all areas. Looking at the districts separately, Applegate shows relatively consistent improvement in almost all areas over time with the exception of sixth grade math where their percentages widely vary. Bakerville shows relatively consistent results over time, although percentages in sixth grade math have declined over time.

ANALYSIS IV

Using data from the 1985 CAR reports and reference group summaries, the tables below report the comparative success of the districts in preparing students for Regents exams across a variety of subjects. For each of the past three years, 1982-83, 1983-84, 1984-85, the first column under each district ('A' for Applegate, 'B' for Bakerville) reports the combined number of students tested on the January and June Regents Examinations, while the second column reports the percentage of those students who passed. The first column under the heading marked "June 1984" reports mean statewide passing percentages from small central school districts (Enrollment < 1100) for the same exam. The second column under "June 1984" are county-wide figures. Table summaries for science, math and business are the total number of students tested in all all areas of those subjects combined and the percent of students passing. Summary figures may include double counting a student taking more than one Regents exam in a single year.

Regents Examination Passing Percentages (1982-84)

Regents Science	1982-83		1983-84		1984-85		June 1984
	'A'	'B'	'A'	'B'	'A'	'B'	
Biology	7 86	16 81	14 57	18 83	10 40	22 91	77 75
Chemistry	3 100	12 83	-	10 100	11 73	8 88	78 89
Earth Sci.	-	-	-	-	-	15 73	79 78
Physics	-	7 86	6 100	5 60	-	11 91	86 82
Total	10 90	35 83	20 70	33 85	21 57	56 86	

Bakerville's science department has had consistent success across all subjects areas over the past three years with the possible exception of physics in 1983-84. In 1984, Bakerville's percentage passing was higher than the State and county references for two out of three subjects (biology and chemistry). Applegate's success has been less consistent, ranging from 100% in chemistry and physics (1982-83, and 1983-84 respectively) to 40% in biology in 1984-85. Applegate's percentage was below both state and county references for biology in 1984 but above both in physics.

Regents Math	1982-83		1983-84		1984-85		June 1984
	'A'	'B'	'A'	'B'	'A'	'B'	
Math 9	15 80	28 86	18 56	27 93	13 85	-	75 71
Math 10	8 75	16 81	11 82	17 94	8 100	16 81	80 71
Math 11	5 40	9 100	7 57	12 50	7 100	15 87	71 63
Seq. Math I	-	-	-	-	-	24 96	88 88
Total	28 71	53 87	36 64	56 84	28 93	55 89	

Again, consistency is the factor which differentiates the districts. With the exception of Math 11 in 1983-84, Bakerville's math students have had a passing percentage of over 80% in all areas over the three years. Applegate reveals greater fluctuation from year to year, with an excellent showing most recently but far less impressive results the two prior years.

Regents	1982-83		1983-84		1984-85		June 1984
Business	'A'	'B'	'A'	'B'	'A'	'B'	
Business Law	3 100	-	-	-	-	-	80 84
Business Math	11 27	14 100	-	9 100	-	12 100	79 84
Book.& Acct.	-	-	-	-	-	9 78	80 74
Total	14 43	14 100	-	9 100	-	21 90	

Bakerville has an excellent record over the past three years on Business Regents exams. Out of a total 44 students tested, 42 have passed. Applegate reports no one taking a Business Regents exam in the past two years.

Other	1982-83		1983-84		1984-85		June 1984
Regents	'A'	'B'	'A'	'B'	'A'	'B'	
French	-	5 100	-	-	-	2 100	92 89
Spanish	1 100	-	2 100	-	4 75	-	93 94
English	15 73	17 76	15 87	21 100	16 81	16 100	87 86
Social Studies	20 50	11 82	18 22	18 100	17 47	13 92	81 68

Both districts have done well on the English Regents as well as with the few students (seven in each district over three years) taking the foreign language exams. Bakerville has a very good record in social studies, while Applegate has had only 22 out of 55 (40%) students pass over the three years.

Summarizing the four analyses presented, Applegate's course offerings in the academic areas of English, math and science have remained relatively unchanged between 1974 and 1984 (Analysis I). The overall educational program in Applegate is fairly typically of districts of comparable size, although the number of unique course offerings in music and industrial arts are well above those typically offered by the districts in the comparative sample (Analysis II). Applegate's testing record in the Pupil Evaluation Program (PEP), Preliminary Competency Tests (PCT), Regents Competency Tests (RCT) and Regents Subject Area J Examinations has been erratic over the past three years (Analyses III and IV). It is difficult from the data to explain the patterns in Applegate's test results, particularly in the Regents subject examinations. For example, in 1982-83, only 40% or two out of the five students who took the Math 11 examination passed. The following year, this figure improved to four out of seven or 57%, while in 1984 all seven students tested passed. Possible explanations for the variation in the percentage of students passing include: 1) the small number of students taking the exam each year, 2) qualitative differences in the academic skills of youngsters in each subsequent class, 3) decisions made by the math teacher in recommending who should take the test, and 4) a combination of these factors.

The percentage of students in Bakerville passing the various tests examined reveals far less variation from year to year and is consistently on par or above state and county-wide norms. Over the ten year period, Bakerville has increased the number of courses it offers in Math from seven to eleven and in Science from six to nine. Although a series of mini-courses in English were short-lived and its present English curriculum is identical to what it was in 1974, Bakerville has shown a greater willingness to experiment with its educational program than Applegate. Indeed, Analysis II shows that Bakerville's educational programs in the areas of English, foreign language, math, science, social studies, business and industrial arts are more extensive than those typically offered by school districts of comparable size.

Special Education

New York State assures that special education programs must, to the maximum extent appropriate, "mainstream" handicapped children. Removal from the regular educational environment occurs only when the nature or severity of the handicapping condition is such that education in regular classes cannot be achieved satisfactorily. Rossmiller (1982) noted that the most common mode of special education service delivery in rural schools is the resource room with extensive use of mainstreaming. He found that children with different needs often have to be serviced in a single program. As a result, resource room teachers in rural districts must be familiar with working with a variety of handicapping conditions, although severely handicapped students are generally served outside the district. Rossmiller's findings provide a fairly accurate description of special education in Applegate and Bakerville.

Both districts provide resource room services to handicapped youngsters who require specially designed instruction to supplement their regular classroom instruction. The State mandates that such services be provided by an appropriately certified or licensed teacher at least three hours per week, but must not exceed 50% of a pupil's school day, and that a maximum instructional group size is five pupils. Based on 1984 Pupils with Handicapping Conditions Reports (PHC-1,12/84), Bakerville makes greater use of its district operated resource room than Applegate, providing services for one emotionally disturbed and five learning disabled youngsters, while Applegate has only one mentally retarded child in its resource room. In servicing its handicapped population, Applegate makes greater use of part-time special classes. Special class programs are for children whose needs require specialized instruction which can be best accomplished in small self-contained classrooms for a portion of the day. Applegate services nine youngsters this way, eight learning disabled and one mentally retarded, in contrast, Bakerville has only one mentally retarded youngster in a part-time special class. Applegate also provides related services only for one speech impaired child. Both districts send their more severely handicapped students to BOCES operated full-time special classes. Applegate has two students at BOCES, while Bakerville has three.

Based on the Attitude Toward Disabled Persons Scale (ATDP), Tunick, Platt, and Bowen (1980) found that rural community members had significantly more disfavorable attitudes towards disabled individuals than non-rural community members. The authors suggested the mainstreaming may not be supported in rural communities, and that these communities may seek to send their handicapped youngsters out of the district or to BOCES programs rather than servicing within their own schools. Our interviews suggest that such community attitudes are not the rule in either Applegate or Bakerville. But in Applegate, a special education teacher feels that her colleagues are not supportive of the special needs of her students.

> The administration is supportive in backing me up, but the teachers are not. Most of the faculty have been here for years and for them to modify anything, they just don't do it. They say everyone should fit the same mold. I feel the teachers don't give them a chance, they would rather flunk them then work extra with them. If there's a kid in my class that I'm trying to mainstream, I always get all their papers. "This is one of your kids", I still hear that, there's still that kind of attitude here. I think they're very closed-minded.

Contrast those remarks with these from a Bakerville Special Education teacher.

> This is my fourth state to teach in and I've got to say that this school, as small as it is, probably has the most positive attitude towards students. Bakerville excels in its caring. The teachers that I work with are very flexible, anxious to help, anxious to adjust and adapt. They allow me to adjust their tests which some teachers won't do.

Why these different attitudes exist is hard to explain, although Applegate's teacher hinted that the preponderance of male teachers at the High School may have something to do with it.

In Helping Children with Handicapping Conditions in New York State (The New York State Plan, July 1, 1983 to June 30, 1986), the New York State Education Department recognized that rural areas have specific problems in adequately meeting the needs of their handicapped population. One of the chief problems is attracting trained professionals to rural settings. The special education teachers in both Applegate and Bakerville are in their first assignments with handicapped students, although Bakerville's teacher has had extensive previous experience as a regular classroom teacher. Applegate's teacher accepted her position in order to gain experience, but she admits that a positon at BOCES would have been her first choice. Bakerville's teacher came to the district as the result of following her husband's employment move into the region.

Student Aspirations

We administered a survey to guage students aspiration levels. High School Seniors in the two districts were asked what their plans were after graduation. Out of twenty-one responses from Applegate, twelve planned to go on to college, two planned to enter military service, six wanted to get a job immediately and one was undecided. Out of twenty-eight responses from Bakerville, twelve planned to go on to college, five planned to enter military service, seven wanted to get a job immediately and four were undecided. In most cases, the college of choice for students in both districts was one of the community colleges in the region, although a number of students indicated the desire to go to a four-year institution. This survey suggests that student aspirations are quite similar in these districts. But aspirations are not always realized. We, therefore attempted to track the last five graduating classes. In the table below the first column is the year of the graduating class, the second column is the number graduating, the third column is the number who went on to college (either a two- or four-year program), the fourth column is the number who completed or are still in a four-year program, the fifth column is the number who entered the military and the last column is the number of graduates living and/or working within twenty miles of the school district. Unfortunately results are available only for Bakerville.

Year	Class size	College	4-Yr Degree	Military	Living/working Locally
1980	24	10	6	4	17
1981	29	11	5	4	14
1982	31	7	2	9	16
1983	32	15	11	1	12
1984	26	12	5	5	8
1985	37	14	7	5	14
Total	179	69	36	28	81

On average, over the past six years, 39% of Bakerville's seniors have gone on to college, 52% of whom have completed or are in the process of completing a four-year program, 16% have entered the military and 45% are living or employed locally. This last figure is a bit deceiving because it counts those students still in school or military service as living outside the community. If we examine only those seniors who did not continue their education or go into service, the percentage living locally rises to almost 100%.

Educational Technology

New educational technologies such as micro-computers and tele-communications offer promising alternatives to rural districts seeking to expand their academic services. Applegate and Bakerville have both begun to avail themselves of the potential offered by these technologies.

Applegate presently has 28 micro-computers, predominantly Apple IIc's and IIe's. There is one micro-computer in each classroom in addition to a computer lab in the high school which is run by the science teacher. Bakerville also has a computer in each classroom in addition to a computer lab which is coordinated by the math teacher. Bakerville's hardware is a bit more diversified than Applegate's, with Radio Shack TRS 80s and Franklins, as well as Apples. In both districts the diversity in hardware resulted from a lack of coordination during the early rounds of purchases. When money was available, purchases were made even though the compatibility of alternative systems was not thoroughly explored. More recent acquisitions have tended to be limited to a single system, e.g., Applegate has gone almost exclusively to the Apple.

The general attitude among teachers in the two districts towards the role of micro-computers in their classroom is expressed quite nicely in this comment from Bakerville's remedial reading teacher:

> I think they are a great supplemental teaching tool, but I don't think they are ever going to replace a teacher and I don't think they free up teacher time that much. The kids love them but I don't think that it makes anything easier for the teacher except that it's very motivational.

The teachers who coordinate the computer programs in the two districts say that there has been some reluctance on the part of some of their colleagues to integrate computers into their teaching style. They speculate that a number of factors may contribute to this reluctance including a basic resistance to change, a fear of computers on the part of some teachers, and the accurate perception that it requires time and training to become facile with the software.

Perhaps the more significant technological breakthrough for these districts is the advent of telecommunications, or what an article in the New York Times (12/17/85, pp.C1 and C19) called "Long-Distance Teaching." This technology links classroom computers to master teachers in other locations through a conference call telephone. This past year Applegate was able to offer a course in calculus taught by a Colgate University math professor. The previous year, Bakerville participated in an astronomy program offered using a similar technology. As noted in the Times article,

> The impetus for the calculus course arose from jarring problems facing rural schools. Hurt by declining enrollment, reluctance of teachers to work in geographic isolation and dwindling tax bases, the schools are finding it more difficult to provide advanced courses for their top students.

The engine that pulls this train of change is the fear of reorganization. The Regents Action Plan mandates put even more pressure on the limited resources of the rural school to provide additional advanced placement courses. Many see telecommunications as an affordable way to offer these courses without having to explore mergers. The superintendent in Applegate is particularly encouraged by the potential offered by telecommunications and told us that one of the district's social studies classes will be participating in a week-long exchange about climatic differences with a school in Hawaii. At the present time, the capabilities of this technology are limited because the students have only audio contact with the instructor. The science teacher in Applegate, who coordinates this program, claims that the three students who participated in the calculus found this disconcerting. They can hear the instructor and see the equations that he writes on the screen of their IBM PC, but they cannot see him or any of the students at the other four sites where the course is being offered. At present, the course is offered once a week with an additional 30 minutes a week for students to discuss their homework assignments, which they send by mail, with the instructor.

Conclusions

In her model of effective schools, Rosenholtz (1985) places the building principal in a position of central importance. Effective principals are those who have the certainty to establish organizational goals which "arm their schools with common objectives toward which to collectively aim" (p.381). Rosenholtz contends that it is improved student learning which becomes the unitary mission of the effective school. Principals in schools identified as "effective" convey to their teachers the certainty that student achievement can be raised, and that, through their collective performance, the faculty will bring about this desired goal. In the effective school it is assumed that continuous improvements in both student and teacher performance are the norm. Effective principals, Rosenholtz notes, reinforce this behavioral norm by recruiting like-minded personnel (p.361),

> Not unexpectedly, effective principals recruit and attract teachers who accept and share the prevailing standards and values of the faculty, with the goals of the school serving as focal points around which decisions are made.

Principals in effective schools encourage collaborative problem-solving in order to promote group cohesiveness and shared objectives among their teachers. This recognition of professional competence results in collegial evaluation and feedback which, Rosenholtz argues, frees teachers from feeling that they function in isolation. In these "effective" settings, asking for help is viewed as an appropriate first step in improving teacher performance, and not as a sign of professional incompetence. Rosenholtz suggests that the atmosphere of support which results from this collegial approach is particularly important to inexperienced teachers who would otherwise be left to find their own way.

Rosenholtz notes that another way in which effective principals enable their teachers to pursue collective goals is to "buffer the technical core." Since student learning is seen as the primary organizational objective, tasks not directly related to achieving that goal are minimized, e.g., effective principals provide clerical assistance to minimize the amount of time teachers spend on routine paperwork. With regards to student behavior, effective principals buffer the technical core by setting clear regulations and penalties in order to minimize the custodial functions of teachers. Teachers in effective schools need only consistently enforce administrative directives, after which the principal assumes responsibility in matters of student discipline. Having the support of the administration on issues of student conduct enables teachers to feel that they are free to get on with the important task of teaching.

Rosenholtz cautions about generalizing the application of this model of effective schools to settings other than inner-city elementary schools. She suggests that the factors which distinguish effective schools in inner-city settings may be a direct function of their specific populations, predominantly poor, minority students.

> Even desegregated elementary schools, with the problems and goals of positive interracial interaction, have more diversified objectives than schools serving primarily low-income black youngsters. Goals of competing importance decrease the likelihood that consensus about thier priority will develop. Principal and teacher behavior then become less unitary in purpose. Similarly, the emphasis placed on disciplinary standards in the effective urban school may be seen as a rational response to a problem perhaps not experienced to the same extent by middle-class schools. Because faculty in middle-class schools may not be mobilized in common purpose, then, there may be less internal connectedness. [p.381]

Rosenholtz cautions that effective school findings may be "conditionalized by the characteristics of the clientele served", yet, the characteristics of the clientele served in the districts studied suggests that the model of effective schools in inner-city settings may be applicable to rural school settings as well. The student populations in Applegate and Bakerville are as racially homogeneous as their inner-city counterparts and not much better off financially. While student achievement seems to run a poor second to fiscal considerations in Applegate, in Bakerville, as in the effective inner-city school, improved student performance is the single common objective of the district's faculty.

Briefly summarizing Rosenholtz's model of school success, effective principals:

1) establish organizational objectives of improved student achievement,
2) draw their faculty into the realization of these objectives,
3) monitor the performance of both students and teachers,
4) buffer the technical core,
5) provide assistance as needed, and
6) selectively recruit teachers who accept the school's central objectives.

As the collaborative efforts of the faculty produce desired results, teachers are intrinsically rewarded by the success of their students, which further reinforces their commitment to the organizational objectives.

We have become convinced that the processes underlying effective schools, as enumerated by Rosenholtz, exists in the Bakerville School District. Ten years ago, a change in administration brought a superintendent to the district who had a very clear objective: to improve student performance. The faculty was made aware that the superintendent saw their performance as the primary agent of change. Teacher performance was monitored and those viewed as not performing up to expectations were denied tenure, pressured into retirement or dismissed. At the same time, teachers were made aware that their efforts to improve student achievement would be "buffered" by the implementation of a code of student discipline which the administration intended to enforce strictly.

Teachers in Bakerville were encouraged to experiment with the curriculum and to collaboratively address problems. Over time, the improvement in teacher working conditions which resulted from fewer disciplinary problems and subsequent gains in student achievement provided intrinsic payoffs which reinforced teacher commitment to the district. When talking to Bakerville's teachers, one senses their on-going commitment to improvement as they discuss attempts to upgrade their course offerings, available materials, facilities and their own training.

Helge (1981) argues that residents in rural areas are typically resistant to change and suspicious of outside interference. The superintendents in Applegate and Bakerville are individuals who were known in their respective communities before assuming their present role. Applegate's Superintendent had been the district's Elementary Principal, while Bakerville's Superintendent had been the Principal of the regional BOCES. Perhaps it's because these individuals were not viewed as "outsiders" they have been able to affect change in their districts. Yet, from our perspective as outsiders, it appears that Bakerville's Superintendent has been more aggressive in pursuing his goal of improving student achievement, even at the risk of creating community opposition. In contrast, Applegate's Superintendent has been very sensitive to his community's "go-slow" attitude, particularly when it comes to financial matters. The approach he has taken throughout his incumbency has been to add small increments to the district's budget rather than to impose major tax increases. When community residents and board members talk about Applegate's Superintendent, his fiscal efficiency is always the first attrbute mentioned.

In contrast, while Bakerville's Superintendent's skills in financial management have also been praised, the positive impact he has had on the quality of the district's educational program is usually the first issue which residents, board members and teachers mention. This difference in emphasis reflects both the priorities of the administrators and the priorities of the communities themselves. There exists a relationship between the educational attainment of Bakerville's adult residents, their concern for educational quality and the achievements of their youngsters, as measured by their performance on Regents examinations and the percentage receiving a Regents diploma. But, in addition, the commitment of the Bakerville superintendent to improved student achievement has been internalized by the community as well. Just as his faculty has come to believe that their efforts make a difference, the community has come to believe in continued improvement in student performance as the district norm. The community's willingness to finance the recent building referendum is one example of their commitment to this objective.

The role of the superintendent in a small rural district like Applegate or Bakerville incorporates many of the responsibilities of a building Principal in an urban district with the added responsibility of providing direction for the district's overall education program. If, as Rosenholtz suggests, principal certainty is a fundamental ingredient of school success in urban districts, then superintendent certainty plays no less of a function in the rural school. Indeed, the rural school superintendent is in the unique position of being able to mobilize not only his staff, but the community as well. Certainty cannot, in and of itself, overcome problems created by geographic factors and fiscal difficulties. But if superintendent certainty results in greater teacher and community commitment to the overriding objective of improving student performance, then rural schools like Bakerville, are more likely to maximize their chances for success.

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